



Powerful Earthquake Strikes Southern Turkey, Killing at Least 100

Rescue workers carrying an earthquake victim in a blanket over the rubble of a flimsy apartment block Sunday after a tremor, measuring 6.3 on the Richter scale, killed more than 100 people and injured nearly 1,000 more in the center of Adana and in outlying towns in southern Turkey. Rescue teams continued to search the rubble for victims. Page 5.

Clinton and Blair Seek New Left

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton and Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain are seeking to take advantage of the unprecedented number of Western governments controlled by center-left parties to turn their "third way" political strategies into an international movement.

Their goal is to give formal direction to the general trend in which liberal, labor and socialist parties are abandoning government ownership of major industries and tax-and-spending programs that aggressively seek to redistribute income.

Mr. Blair and Mr. Clinton have met twice this year — once in the United States and last month in England — to

discuss the so-called third-way strategy that is neither the traditional right or left approach. Mr. Clinton also explored the subject at a May meeting with Prime Minister Romano Prodi of Italy and on June 7 at a Camp David meeting with President Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil.

While playing down any immediate organizational plans, some of those involved in the discussions suggest that the long-range aim would be to set up a middle-ground counterpart to the Socialist International on the left or the International Democrat Union on the right.

Any formal efforts to set up such an organization or forum would begin after the German elections in September. If Gerhard Schroeder, the Social Democratic candidate, wins, the German lead-

ership would help Mr. Clinton and Mr. Blair counter some quiet opposition in the French and Portuguese left.

In place of direct state intervention, Mr. Clinton and Mr. Blair have been promoting a version of liberal-left politics that calls for competitive, free-market strategies while using government to prevent the market from devastating those least prepared to live without the protections of the welfare state.

"For the first time in all human history," Mr. Clinton told the 50th anniversary celebration of the World Trade Organization in Geneva last month, "the argument over which is better, free enterprise or state socialism, has been won, when people on every

See THIRD WAY, Page 8

AGENDA

Abortion Poll Turnout Low in Portugal

LISBON (Reuters) — Voter turnout in a referendum Sunday on whether to liberalize abortion in predominantly Roman Catholic Portugal failed to reach the 50 percent needed for the result to be binding on Parliament, according to state RTP television.

Exit polls on both RTP and the

Ulster Endorsement

The election of representatives to the Northern Ireland Assembly produced a clear endorsement of the new legislative body, with the largest Protestant and Catholic parties supporting the peace process. Ian Paisley and his allies failed by two seats to gain the 30 seats needed to block steps called for in the peace accord. Page 5.

private SIC station showed a slight majority of those who voted backing the proposal to permit abortion virtually on demand in the first 10 weeks of pregnancy. But only 21 percent to 29 percent of Portugal's 8.5 million registered voters cast ballots, according to RTP.

RTP said that 47 percent to 53 percent of those who voted had approved the proposal, compared with 46 percent to 52 percent against it. It was Portugal's first referendum.

It was really amazing, we didn't

know it was going to be on TV," said Li Mingzhi,

an accountant at a private company in Beijing who

watched it with his parents and younger sister.

"All of us were amazed that they broadcast the whole thing live," he said, "but the more I watched, the more I thought it was a totally normal thing."

Mr. Li was among millions of Chinese who saw Mr. Clinton and Mr. Jiang debate some of the most taboo subjects in Chinese public discourse:

individual rights, freedom of speech and the June 4, 1989, crackdown on student-led demonstrations in Tiananmen Square. Nearly a decade of television censorship of critical views of the Tiananmen crackdown went by the wayside as Mr. Clinton declared that the protesters had "raised their voices for



President Clinton addressing the congregation of the Chongwenmen Church in Beijing on Sunday while he attended services there.

Clinton's Message to China: Individual Freedom Is Vital

Taiwan Keeps Uneasy Watch

By Nicholas D. Kristof
New York Times Service

TAIPEI — As the festivities and pomp of President Bill Clinton's state visit unfold on the other side of the Taiwan Strait, the mood here is sullen and profoundly nervous.

The Foreign Ministry has set up a 24-hour situation room to follow moment-by-moment developments of Mr. Clinton's trip; the government has impaled an interagency task force to monitor it, and thousands of Taiwanese have signed petitions or taken to the streets to warn the United States not to sacrifice the people here.

"We are afraid that Americans will betray us," said Lin Fong-lan, 48, a housewife who was apprehensive enough to take part in a sit-in outside the United States' quasi-embassy in Taipei. "Americans may think about their own interests and sacrifice Taiwan."

Disagreements about Taiwan have been hovering over the Chinese-U.S. summit meeting, because Washington's ties with Taiwan remain a central obstacle to improved relations between

See TAIWAN, Page 4

He Rewrites Major Speech

By John F. Harris
Washington Post Service

BEIJING — In an address aimed at China's emerging generation of political and intellectual leaders, President Bill Clinton plans to tell university students in Beijing on Monday that their country will never achieve the prosperity and social stability it is seeking until it embraces greater individual freedom.

Determined to make a planned speech at Beijing University an encompassing statement about the future of U.S.-China relations, Mr. Clinton scrapped a draft of the address on Sunday night and spent the early hours Monday searching for new words, according to aides.

His argument to students, senior officials said, will be that China's traditional quest for order and central control in all facets of economic and political life is incompatible with the new world of global commerce and communications.

His purpose, they added, is to avoid a traditional lecture about human rights, which even some progressive Chinese regard as unwelcome and irrelevant, and instead appeal for expanded democracy and freedom of expression in terms of national self-interest.

Mr. Clinton, aides said, had initially been planning to use the Beijing University speech to condemn the Chinese government's brutal crackdown against pro-democracy protesters in Tiananmen Square in 1989. Having addressed that history Saturday at a news conference, he and aides concluded that the university speech should be more forward-looking.

After the uncommonly forthright public exchange between President Clinton and President Jiang Zemin of China on Saturday, Clinton administration officials were predicting a new chapter in U.S.-China relations that they said could lead to breakthroughs on such nettlesome long-term problems as missile proliferation and the repression of Tibet.

The buoyancy, even boastfulness, in the U.S. delegation came less from a series of limited agreements reached on arms control and other subjects in the meeting Saturday than from the unprecedented openness that the Beijing authorities exhibited by broadcasting the Clinton-Jiang news conference live to the Chinese public.

It was a dramatic moment for a regime that customarily has crushed internal dissent and methodically tried to insulate its population from exposure to external criticism.

The Chinese population heard Mr. Clinton and Mr. Jiang debate such issues as human rights, the Tiananmen crackdown and the possibility of a rapprochement between Beijing and the Dalai Lama, Tibet's exiled spiritual leader.

In a wide-ranging, often philosophical discussion, the two leaders agreed occasionally and disagreed often.

But a smiling Mr. Jiang projected

The 2 Presidents Debate Before an Amazed Public

Live Broadcast of Normally Taboo Subjects

By Steven Mufson
Washington Post Service

BEIJING — It was a typical Saturday at the Li family household — low-slung mah-jongg and hours of watching television — until Chinese Central Television departed from its well-scripted news format to bring viewers a live broadcast of Presidents Bill Clinton and Jiang Zemin giving a news conference.

"It was really amazing, we didn't

know it was going to be on TV," said Li Mingzhi,

an accountant at a private company in Beijing who

watched it with his parents and younger sister.

"All of us were

amazed that they broadcast the whole thing live," he said, "but the more I watched, the more I thought it was a totally normal thing."

Mr. Li was among millions of

Chinese who saw Mr. Clinton and Mr. Jiang debate some of the most taboo subjects in Chinese public discourse:

individual rights, freedom of speech and the June 4, 1989, crackdown on student-led demonstrations in Tiananmen Square. Nearly a decade of television censorship of critical views of the Tiananmen crackdown went by the wayside as Mr. Clinton declared that the protesters had "raised their voices for

democracy" and that "the use of force and tragic loss of life was wrong."

It was a rare moment in Chinese television and politics. In a country where disagreements are usually kept behind closed doors and consensus is seen as crucial for ensuring political stability, Mr. Jiang not only tolerated a small debate with Mr. Clinton, but also he seemed to enjoy it. What was supposed to be a brief news conference stretched to more than an hour, with Mr. Clinton looking relaxed and confident as he made his case for China's political system and defended China's policies on the sensitive issues of human rights and Tibet.

"He can smile a little and make jokes," said the accountant. Mr. Li, who was impressed by Mr. Jiang's performance. "And he did pretty well against Clinton. I like him."

Political analysts viewed the live broadcast as a sign of Mr. Jiang's increasing sense of security in his role as China's leader after years in the shadow of his mentor, Deng Xiaoping. They also saw it as a further sign of a modest relaxation in China's domestic political climate, which has tolerated an increasing

political debate.

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Members of Italian Coalition Warn of New Political Turbulence

By Alan Friedman
International Herald Tribune

ROME — Just days after the government of Prime Minister Romano Prodi narrowly averted collapse in the lower house of Parliament, voted against NATO enlargement, senior members of the ruling center-left coalition here are warning that Italy may be facing renewed political turbulence and even the risk of a snap election.

Leaders of the parties that make up the government's parliamentary majority will this week begin a round of meetings here aimed at persuading the

far-left Refounded Communist Party to agree on a new policy program designed to last for the next 12 months.

The Communists, whose votes are needed to sustain Mr. Prodi in the lower house of Parliament, voted against NATO enlargement last week, and the government was saved only because it won the support of a small centrist party led by former President Francesco Cossiga.

As a result of the near-crisis, President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro asked Mr. Prodi to "verify" the solidity of his governing majority, which is facing po-

tential conflicts with the Communists over issues ranging from how to create jobs in the depressed South to the use of NATO bases should there be a military action in Kosovo.

Mr. Prodi, seeking to avoid elections and maintain his parliamentary majority, has promised not to replace the Communists with Mr. Cossiga's party, an assortment of former Christian Democrats.

"Either we will have a clear pact between the majority and the Refounded Communists," Mr. Prodi declared, "or I will leave office." But the Com-

munist leader, Fausto Bertinotti, who is demanding that Mr. Prodi steer his government further to the left, warned over the weekend that "we are not afraid of the prospect of elections."

Mr. Bertinotti has already forced the government to introduce a 35-hour workweek and wants a pledge of more public funds aimed at job creation in the South, where unemployment is double the national average of 12.5 percent.

The Prodi government, which is committed to budget rigor under the terms of its membership in Europe's single currency project, hopes instead to push

For Malaysia Villagers, a Proud Flight

By Thomas Fuller
International Herald Tribune

SEPANG, Malaysia — Flight MH5407 took a large detour after taking off, heading north instead of south, but none of the passengers on board the inaugural flight to Malaysia's new \$3 billion airport seemed to notice.

Only after a sharp left turn did the cabin come alive with curiosity — and the purpose of the detour was made clear. As the wings dipped, the world's tallest buildings, the Petronas Towers, came into view. The plane flew low over the bright lights of modern Kuala Lumpur and the passengers cheered.

"This is very, very meaningful," said Kuan Huan Seng, a 37-year-old

school teacher, solemnly. "I am very proud."

It is not fashionable these days in crisis-hit Southeast Asia to embrace grandiose construction projects, but the passengers of Flight MH5407 on

firms Contact
to Peace Effort

Mexico's Soaring Crime Rate: A Hazard of Loss of Control at the Top

By Sam Dillon
New York Times Service

MEXICO CITY — Not so long ago, Mexico seemed a reasonably safe place, especially when compared with Latin American societies in the throes of civil war or paramilitary violence. But that has changed. Now virtually every day, terrifying new crimes dramatize the country's public security crisis.

In recent weeks, a Vermont artist was knifed to death on a Pacific Coast beach. A kidnapper called a Mexico City newspaper to boast about hacking off the ears of his hostages and to jeer at the authorities' inability to stop them. Military police ordered to investigate the disappearance of scores of people in a city on the Texas border were themselves arrested

collecting a kidnapping ransom.

The State Department has cautioned visiting Americans about the rising crime rates.

Mexican criminologists, sociologists and others are debating what has gone wrong. How did one of the safest countries in the Western Hemisphere become a place where tourists are panicking and millions fear criminal attack whenever they leave home?

Some blame the economy, which for 15 years has seen real wages fall and the breach between rich and poor widen. Some cite sociology, saying that an entire generation of police officers are now using their violent skills as participants in organized crime.

Others trace the crisis to the justice system, which is so discredited that most crimes go unreported, fewer are investigated,

and only a tiny fraction of the perpetrators are ever punished.

Some even blame the growth of democracy, which by stripping Mexico's ruling party of many of its authoritarian powers has also diminished its ability to repress crime.

One thing is common to all these explanations. There is a sense that Mexico's top civilian authorities have lost control of the country's criminals, who now see lucrative opportunities on all sides.

"In practical terms, the Mexican state simply doesn't respond to most crimes," said Ernesto Lopez Portillo, co-author of a 1994 study of public security issues.

"The authorities refuse to recognize the severity of the public security crisis, partly because

it's so frightening."

The facts are sobering. Although record-keeping is chaotic, and fear of police keeps many victims from reporting crimes, government statistics for Mexico City show that reported murders rose by 50 percent from 1990 to 1995 and that robbery incidents have multiplied six-fold in 15 years. Experts estimate that kidnappings in Mexico, once rare, now number at least 1,500 a year.

Rafael Ruiz Harrel, a professor who is one of Mexico's most meticulous crime statisticians, has charted annual figures for all reported crimes since 1930 and concluded: "There's a clear association between economic crisis and crime."

For 50 years after 1930, Mexican workers enjoyed an almost uninterrupted rise in their standard

of living, and in those years, he says, crime declined with equal constancy, even though Mexican wages remained far below the standard in the United States.

But beginning in 1983, the first year after an economic crisis sent wages into free-fall, crime rates took off, and they have yet to level out. In 1995, the year following a disastrous peso devaluation, reported crimes in Mexico surged 35 percent, he said.

"Never before in our history has crime grown this rapidly," Mr. Ruiz said.

Economic determinism has its critics, however, including President Ernesto Zedillo. In an appearance in June in New York, Mr. Zedillo said that attributing street crime to economic factors amounts to blaming the poor. Instead, he said, the problem lies

with the "inefficiency" of Mexico's crime-fighting institutions.

How do inefficient police and prosecutors translate into more crime? "Potential criminals act rationally and base their decision to commit a crime on an analysis of costs and benefits," said a recent World Bank study of crime in

years, and turnover among lower officials is higher.

Given the disorder, Mr. Lopez estimated that of each 100 crimes reported to authorities, only 5 are investigated.

But Mexico's justice system has never worked efficiently. So why is crime surging now? Until recently, Mr. Lopez said, government officials from the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party, known as the PRI, controlled the criminal class, often favoring one mafia in exchange for kickbacks while suppressing rival groups and never allowing crime to surpass certain bounds. But as the PRI has begun to share power, it has lost control of the criminals, he said.

"The old rules no longer apply, and new ones haven't emerged," he said.

POLITICAL NOTES

Republicans Set Up A Spending Battle

The Bill Is Bigger Than Expected

By Christopher S. Wren
New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — The United States could lose its vote in the General Assembly unless it comes up with \$211 million to \$241 million more than it now expects to pay in United Nations dues and assessments this year, according to a new U.S. government estimate.

The warning appears in a new study by the General Accounting Office on the U.N.'s financial problems and the arrears owed by the United States. The study was requested by members of Congress, some of whom have expressed skepticism about how much the United States owes the United Nations.

The study gratified UN officials because it recognizes the financial problems created by the United States and other countries that are behind on their dues and backs up the basic figures used by the world organization.

"The report is important for what it says," said Joseph Connor, the UN undersecretary for management. "And what it says is that the regular budget deficit is growing, that peacekeeping cash is declining, that the total resources available to the organization are diminishing."

Mr. Connor said that the UN kept itself afloat by raiding its peacekeeping budget, postponing payments to troop contributors and commercial suppliers and resorting to other financially imprudent measures.

The report barely touches on the influence that the United States has lost at the United Nations by not paying its bills.

Its power has not eroded in the Security Council, which is more important than the General Assembly and where the debates often entail issues of war and peace.

WASHINGTON — Congressional Republicans staked out their ground last week for the final four months of an ideological combat with Democrats and the White House before election day.

They have picked the 13 spending bills that fund the operations of the federal government for a fight over issues ranging from social policy — such as abortion restrictions and gay rights — to business regulation, education reforms and environmental restrictions.

The strategy is a controversial though time-honored one that involves slipping often-unexpected policy pronouncements into the annual procession of nuts-and-bolts spending bills.

Last year, in the harmonious aftermath of the balanced budget agreement, the practice was largely avoided. Not this time.

As the bills began moving through the House and Senate last week, they were saddled with numerous amendments that caused some heated denunciations on the House and Senate floors and have attracted the ire of the White House.

While few people are predicting the kind of legislative chaos that prompted two government shutdowns in 1995, the White House expressed "grave concerns" Friday about various provisions and threatened to veto at least five of the 13 bills. One of the five bills — the largest domestic spending measure — involves funds for the departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education. The other bills are for

funds for the departments of State, the Interior, Justice, Commerce and Veteran Affairs.

Net Frenzy in Congress

WASHINGTON — The Internet, with its influence on everything from commerce and national security to privacy and crime, has become an issue as politically alluring to many lawmakers as cutting taxes, educating children and locking up criminals.

Barely a week goes by on Capitol Hill without a hearing, a meeting or a gathering about an Internet-related issue.

Last week, after governors had threatened to tax the Internet, the House voted to keep the levies at bay. When parents expressed fears about pedophiles stalking their children on the Internet, the House passed legislation to help prosecutors chase them down. And when Hollywood voiced deep concern about copyright piracy in cyberspace, House members began studying how to protect software and movies.

Just two years ago, few members of Congress knew much about the Internet. But since millions of voters have discovered it, so have they.

NYT

Quote/Unquote

President Bill Clinton, on a visit to the Great Wall of China on Sunday, asked if he saw any reason now that made the wall necessary: "I believe this wall now is a symbol that China shows to the rest of the world, not a wall to keep people out. It sort of unifies the country."

Reuters



Post Photo/The Associated Press
KLAN MARCH — An officer keeping armed counterprotesters apart at a peaceful Ku Klux Klan rally in Jasper, Texas, where a black was dragged to death.

AMERICAN TOPICS

If Majority Fails Teacher Test, Should State Grade on Curve?

So many aspiring educators flunked the first Massachusetts test of basic reading and writing skills for teachers that officials decided to grade them on a curve.

Fifty-six percent of those who took the test failed. The state Board of Education then voted to lower the passing grade to reduce the failure rate to 44 percent. Officials explained that the examination required some fine-tuning.

That failed to satisfy a number of critics, who noted that some test-takers had misspelled simple words, or written at a fifth- or sixth-grade level. The speaker of the state House, Thomas Finneran, said he was appalled that some candidates could not define a noun or a verb or what democracy means." He called those who failed, and the professors who had given them their college degrees, "idiots."

The acting governor of Massachusetts, Paul Cellucci, called for testing of all current teachers, a proposal immediately criticized by state teachers groups. Until this year, Massachusetts was one of only seven states that did not require teachers to pass a test to qualify for certification.

Some in Massachusetts insist that the

test is not relevant to the question of whether the prospective teachers will do their work caringly and competently. In any case, those who failed the test will be allowed to try again in July. And when the results are released, state officials will announce which colleges produced which test scores.

Short Take

New York was his kind of town. Los Angeles was his lady. Frank Sinatra loved Chicago, too. As for his hometown Hoboken, New Jersey, he had problems. Sinatra once reportedly called it "a sewer." Now, more than a month after the entertainer's death, that city is deeply divided over how it should honor the Sinatra legacy.

Earlier this week, state lawmakers allocated \$100,000 for a Hoboken Historical Museum to celebrate the city that calls itself the birthplace of baseball and steamboats. The museum will include an "appropriate commemoration" for Mr. Sinatra, officials say. Fans say that is not enough: The singer should have his own museum before Hoboken does.

"People would flock to the museum like they flock to Graceland," where Elvis Presley once lived, said Ed Shirk, a Sinatra memorabilia collector. The love-hate relationship has a long history. Mr. Sinatra was pelted with tomatoes and heckled in two Hoboken appearances after he began his rise to fame. He vowed never to perform there again.

Brian Knowlton

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Jewelry C. Lacroix, YSL, C. Pena Dupont, Mont Blanc.

Away From Politics

The dome of the U.S. Capitol is being prepared for a massive repair job. Completed in December 1863 at the height of the Civil War, the dome is cracked or corroded in an estimated 200 places and has at least 12 coats of lead-based paint that must be stripped and replaced in a complicated overhaul that could begin by the end of the year. The project ultimately will cost \$26 million, but the price could be higher if further damage is found when the paint comes off. (WP)

Fierce thunderstorms swamped parts of eight U.S. states, bringing severe, sudden flooding requiring helicopter rescues. A train derailed and spilled fuel in the extreme weather that killed at least seven people in Vermont, Ohio, Minnesota and northern New York and parts of four other states. (AP)

The Coast Guard reopened the Mississippi River to north-bound shipping on Saturday night, almost 10 hours after a tugboat collision dumped 69,000 gallons (260,000 liters) of oil in the river about 80 miles (128 kilometers) upriver from New Orleans, a spokesman said. The river remained closed to south-bound traffic. (Reuters)

Skirmishes broke out but serious violence was averted as black radicals tried to crash a Ku Klux Klan rally on Saturday in a Jasper, Texas, town where a black man was dragged to his death behind a pickup truck earlier this month. (Reuters)

The Cincinnati Enquirer said it had agreed to pay Chiquita Brands International \$10 million in damages for "untrue" articles in May alleging that the fruit giant had questionable business practices. The paper published a front-page apology signed by its publisher and editor and said that the paper's chief investigative reporter had been fired. (Reuters)

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THE WORLD'S DAILY NEWSPAPER

U.S.-Chinese Summit / An Increasing Candor in Beijing

Burying a Taboo, China Gives Figures on Death by Police Torture

By John Pomfret
Washington Post Service

BEIJING — For the first time, China has published statistics on the number of people who have been tortured to death by the police, in an unusual series of books designed to improve police practices and advance legal reform.

The acknowledgment by the Supreme People's Procuratorate, which published the books, that people have died or been seriously injured in police custody is another sign of China's increasing willingness to take on long-taboo issues that used to be dealt with only in internal reports and secret circulars of the Communist Party.

One book, entitled "The Law Against Extorting a Confession by Torture," said that torture in China was a systemic problem. It included 64 case studies of people who were tortured to death while in police custody, 35 cases of people who were seriously injured while in police custody and many other cases of

people who confessed to crimes that they did not commit in order to stop being tortured.

The unprecedented publication of these case studies and the fledgling attempts of elements within China's criminal justice system to rein in China's formerly all-powerful police and other security services represent just one of many legal developments lending encouragement to American legal experts.

They argue that systemic changes in China are more important to the improvement of rights than lobbying over the fate of individual prisoners.

The Clinton administration has adopted legal reform in China as a major plank of U.S.-Chinese relations. President Bill Clinton was to address legal reform and announce a series of initiatives designed to strengthen China's legal system in a speech Monday at Beijing University.

So far the bulk of U.S.-Chinese legal cooperation has been in business-related issues, such as bankruptcy law, contracts, securities law and intellectual property

rights. One of Mr. Clinton's legal initiatives involves human rights: a symposium planned in Washington for this autumn on criminal procedures and the protection of human rights, with Chinese and American lawyers taking part.

"These are issues that are in play with the Chinese, and that creates the opportunity to make our perspective heard," said Paul Gewirtz, the special representative for the rule-of-law initiative. "It is an important new channel with the Chinese."

Many human-rights organizations say they worry, however, that the legal initiatives being backed by the Clinton administration are only a substitute for more vigorous, and potentially rancorous, protests against China's human-rights record.

"U.S. efforts to promote legal reform in China must be designed to foster greater compliance with international human rights law so China's citizens can enjoy their basic freedoms and be protected from the injustices that are now

rampant in the criminal justice system," said Michael Posner, the executive director of the New York-based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights.

Amnesty International estimates that 2,000 people are now in prison in China for political crimes. About 230,000 people are believed to be held in labor camps. The police still retain the power to sentence people to three years of labor reform without a trial.

In 1990, the Communist Party lifted an informal ban on research and publication in China about human rights questions. Since then a flood of literature has emerged on the subject.

According to "The Law Against Extorting a Confession by Torture," 126 people were killed by the police during interrogations in 1993, and 115 in 1994, while 64 people were seriously injured during those two years.

The book was published in July 1997 along with two companion volumes on illegal arrests and illegal entry by police into homes and offices. It has not pre-

viously been reported in the West.

The book says that between 1990 and 1994, 2,943 serious cases of forced confessions were noted by the procuratorate. In the same period, the books said, 20,791 people were illegally incarcerated.

Murray Scot Tanner, an American legal scholar, said that it was not so much the numbers that mattered but the fact that China was willing to acknowledge such abuses.

"This is a significant move on China's part to deal with torture," he said. "They are doing it very quietly because the issue is so sensitive."

One of the people at the forefront of legal reform is Chen Guangzhou, the chairman of the China Procedural Law Research Society, who himself was jailed without trial in anti-rightist purges in 1957.

"Torture is a serious problem here," Mr. Chen said. "It was part of ancient Chinese culture. It used to be legal during imperial Chinese times. Even in the

recent past it has been a problem. These are not isolated incidents and they continue to happen."

The books were published following the passage in 1996 of an amended version of China's Criminal Procedure Law, which Mr. Chen helped to write. The law outlaws the use of torture to extract a confession. But it is silent on whether forced confessions can be used as evidence in court.

Mr. Chen said the reforms were only a beginning.

"We took a big step in passing the law for the reforms of criminal procedure, but we just can't stop there," he said. "There is a need to make more reforms."

Mr. Chen gave some credit to Western advice and scholars for helping China to reform its legal system.

"Change in part is due to the fact that Chinese are beginning to pay attention to human rights," he said. "But also it does have some relation to studying foreign legal systems."

TAIWAN: Uneasy Clinton Watch

Continued from Page 1

China and the United States, China regards Taiwan as a renegade province and would like the United States to curtail its unofficial relations with Taiwan and arm shipments to the island.

Taiwan officials were enormously reassured when Mr. Clinton and President Jiang Zemin of China concluded their statements and news conference in Beijing without talking about arms sales or raising other matters affecting Taiwan. At a luncheon Saturday attended by several senior Taiwanese officials, there were beaming faces and toasts all around when word came that the news conference had ended without any unpleasant surprises about Taiwan.

"We're relieved so far," David Lee, the deputy foreign minister and head of the interagency task force monitoring the summit meeting, said at the luncheon. "At least from the public information so far, we haven't heard anything alarming."

From an American perspective, Taiwan's anxieties might seem a bit overwrought. The Clinton administration keeps repeating that its Taiwan policies will not change.

"I think it's obvious that there will be no change in our position one way or another on this trip," Mr. Clinton said Friday of relations with Taiwan.

Still, for people in Taiwan, biting their lips as they watch Mr. Clinton gallivanting around the mainland with Mr. Jiang, the assurances of continuing American affections have not removed the headache.

The perception here is that over the last couple of years the Clinton administration has been distancing itself from Taiwan, narrowing its options, and pressuring it not to cause trouble for Chinese-American relations. All that has been painful for a country whose people brim with enthusiasm for the United States.

"We've been America's star pupil — we've built democracy and freedom just as America wanted," said Huang Chao-yuan, a physics professor who heads an academic organization that organized a demonstration to warn the United States against any agreement with China that would hurt Taiwan. "So why are you prepared to turn your backs on us?"

The underlying challenge for people in Taiwan is simply that China is becoming increasingly powerful in the world, and so China is gaining leverage and Taiwan is losing its own, with nearly all countries now recognizing Beijing over Taipei.

"To be candid, I don't think we have much leverage to prevent Clinton from doing something about Taiwan, because we're so dependent on America," said Parris Chang, the chairman of the defense committee in Parliament. "But we will try to use moral persuasion to shame Clinton so that he does not appear a Communist dictatorship by sacrificing a democratic country like Taiwan."

One reason for apprehension in Taiwan is that when Mr. Clinton met with Mr. Zemin in Washington last fall, the State Department spokesman, James Rubin, described Washington's Taiwan policy in a way that some people in Taiwan felt was more formal and restrictive than before.

The essence of that statement, dubbed the "three no's," in Taiwan, was that the United States does not support Taiwan's independence, does not support a two-China policy or a "one China, one Taiwan" policy, and does not support Taiwan's membership in international organizations whose members are sovereign countries.

Taiwan officials are exultant that Mr. Clinton has not included formulation of the "three no's" in his comments in China on this trip.

SUMMIT: In a Revised Speech to Students, Clinton to Stress Individual Freedoms as Key to National Stability

Giang Cracks Open Window to Tibet

By John Pomfret
Washington Post Service

BEIJING — President Jiang Zemin of China has provided the first public glimpses of hope in years over the future of Tibet, holding out the possibility of talks with the Dalai Lama and acknowledging the existence of secret contacts with the Tibetan spiritual leader.

At the end of a wide-ranging public dialogue with President Bill Clinton, Mr. Jiang stopped suddenly on Saturday, apologized for having to "take up an additional five minutes" and then launched into a spontaneous monologue listing his conditions for opening formal negotiations with the Dalai Lama.

Mr. Jiang said that as long as the Tibetan leader, who fled China in 1959 after the Chinese government's crackdown on Tibet, acknowledged that Tibet was an "inalienable" part of China, and that Taiwan was a province of China, "then the door to dialogue and negotiation is open."

Mr. Jiang's demands are not new, but, given that he raised the issue without prompting from Mr. Clinton, they represented an important change in the way China has handled Tibet, Western officials said.

The tone differed sharply from recent rhetoric in China, which has vehemently condemned the Dalai Lama as a "split-

tist" and blamed him for the trouble in Tibet. Mr. Jiang did neither of those things. As such, it was significant that Mr. Jiang's remarks were broadcast live in China — and could mark a significant softening of China's line.

"No one expected him to even address it. I just don't know where that came from," said an administration official, adding that he believed that Mr. Jiang had added Taiwan to the equation because the Dalai Lama had recently opened an office there. "It is an unusual olive branch, a scared olive branch, but an olive branch nonetheless," the official said.

For the last 10 years, China has taken a hard line against any concessions to the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan movement. Thus there have been many false starts in efforts to start a dialogue over the future of Tibet, once a feudal Buddhist theocracy located on the "roof of the world," bracketed by the Himalaya and Kunlun Shan mountains. So experts on Tibet cautioned against undue optimism that a thaw in relations was at hand.

But soon after Mr. Jiang made his comments, a senior official in the Tibetan government-in-exile welcomed his remarks.

"I would like to express support for Jiang's willingness to discuss this matter," said Lodi Gyari, the Washington-based representative of the Tibetan government-in-exile, in a telephone interview.

view from Switzerland. "We would like to reciprocate in whatever way we could for forward movement."

Mr. Gyari said the Dalai Lama would like to make a religious pilgrimage to Mount Wutai, a series of five peaks sacred to Buddhists in China's Shanxi province, and to meet Mr. Jiang on the way there. In 1988, China offered the Dalai Lama the opportunity to come to China for the funeral of the Panchen Lama, the second most important Tibetan leader, but he declined.

During the televised debate, Mr. Clinton said he understood Mr. Jiang's demand that the Dalai Lama acknowledge Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. He also encouraged Mr. Jiang to meet the Tibetan leader. "I have spent time with the Dalai Lama. I believe him to be an honest man, and I believe if we had a conversation with President Jiang, they would like each other very much," Mr. Clinton said.

Tibetan officials added that secret talks were already taking place. The officials said the talks were occurring outside China and that Americans were involved in the back-channel exchanges.

Senator Dianne Feinstein, Democrat of California, and her husband, Richard Blum, took a letter to Mr. Jiang in September 1997 from the Dalai Lama.

Dalai Lama Calls for Support

The Dalai Lama was quoted on Sun-



President Jiang Zemin of China speaking at a news conference in Beijing about the possibility of negotiations with the Dalai Lama.

day as saying international pressure was vital to stop what he called escalating Chinese repression in the province, Reuters reported from Madrid.

"Tibet is threatened with extinction," the Dalai Lama, who has lived in exile in India since 1959, said in an interview with *El Mundo*, the Spanish newspaper.

"The repression is turning into cultural genocide. So international pressure is of vital importance."

But the Dalai Lama was pessimistic about the possibility of reaching a political solution to the autonomy claims of Tibet, saying that politics lacked moral backing.

"The political reality is that no one is going to kick the Chinese out," he said. "The lack of a moral component in politics is very sad."

Dissidents Are Heartened But Chinese Press Mutes Clinton's Criticisms

Compiled by Our Staff Foreign Service

BEIJING — Chinese dissidents on Sunday welcomed President Bill Clinton's public criticism of Beijing's rights record and vowed that their fight to win greater freedoms under Communist rule would go on.

"It's very hard to judge if there will be a clear improvement in China's human rights situation after President Clinton's criticisms," said Wang Youcai, an activist in the 1989 Tiananmen Square movement who challenged Communist Party power Thursday by applying to establish an opposition party.

"It's sure that the Chinese people will have more self-confidence after such open support from the international

community, but the outcome depends on ourselves and not on Clinton," he added.

Mr. Clinton and President Jiang Zemin jostled verbally over the freedoms of speech, association and religion on Saturday at a press conference broadcast live to the Chinese people.

On Sunday, in a careful speech at a Beijing church, Mr. Clinton also urged greater religious freedoms. He praised the growth in Christianity in the country.

"I think there is a possible impact on the Chinese government from this visit," said Xu Liangying, a retired Beijing University professor.

President Jiang has already said that China will sign the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights this year, and I'm optimistic that there can be some improvements," he added.

But those Chinese who missed the live broadcast would find no mention of Mr. Clinton's Tiananmen Square comments or his calls for political freedoms in the country's official newspapers.

All newspapers published the official Xinhua press agency version of events, which cited the two presidents as "stating their respective views on human rights and Tibet in response to reporters' questions."

A rights group said Sunday that all four dissidents who were detained in Xian, the first city on Mr. Clinton's itinerary, had been released as the president was leaving.

But another dissident, Li Xiaolong, was still being held in southern China, while an activist in Shanghai, Zhou Jianhe, was made to leave the city ahead of Mr. Clinton's arrival there Monday, the Information Center of Human Rights and Democratic Movement in China said.

Mr. Zhou was one of six people who last week urged Mr. Clinton to meet with dissidents. But Mr. Clinton has so far refused to do so.

(AFP, AP)

CHINA: Leaders Differ Over Rights and Policy in Live Broadcast

Continued from Page 1

ing number of calls for political liberalization over the past nine months.

"Jiang is probably the first Chinese leader to engage with an American president in a public way on policy differences, directly in front of the journalists," said Jia Qingguo, a professor of international relations at Beijing University. "It requires great courage and political skill."

Mr. Jiang looked at ease and his words sounded almost spontaneous — a sharp contrast to his first summit meeting with Mr. Clinton in Washington last October, when he read a series of stock foreign policy formulations.

His effort to project a better image, analysts said, showed the increasing importance Chinese leaders place on television as a means of communication now that its penetration has increased more than fivefold in China in the past 12 years, covering about 90 percent of Chinese households.

Students watching the broadcast at Beijing University ran to tell fellow stu-

ents to join them. One master's student was pulled in to watch.

"I admire Clinton," he said later. "He's honest and open. It doesn't matter which one is right and which one is wrong. We need to listen to them both and make our own decisions."

"Before, we only saw the Chinese government side of it," he added. "What we were told about the U.S. government was what our government wanted to tell us."

American officials, who had sought agreement to broadcast Mr. Clinton's remarks live to the Chinese people sometime during his visit, were surprised by the decision after being rebuffed earlier. The White House national security adviser, Samuel Berger, baited the televised event as "truly historic" and noted that Mr. Jiang had passed up several opportunities to cut the question-and-answer period short.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao declined to say when the decision was made to broadcast the news conference live. "This illustrates that we adopted an open attitude and would like

people to know the different views of the different sides," he said. "China is more and more open to the outside world."

But some Chinese were cautious about declaring the beginning of a new era. "This is the last time we will be able to see this type of discussion," the Beijing graduate student said. "It was almost like a mistake. They will never broadcast again."

"Chinese people should be very happy," he added. "For the first time in nine years it's been mentioned, but too bad it has to be a foreigner that mentions it."

But at the same time, Mr. Clinton was adept at putting America's support for individual liberties in the context of maintaining stability, one of the main anxieties of the Chinese leaders.

Clinton to Stress Individual Freedoms as Key to National Stability

icized the Tiananmen massacre — was remarkable.

"I think it would be hard for the American public to appreciate how significant this is," he said. "Jiang Zemin has performed a courageous act."

"It's an extraordinary act and it does make this an extraordinary trip."

The fact that the event was aired live in China was even more surprising because for weeks Chinese officials had stalled on this question, indicating to the U.S. team that it was unlikely.

U.S. officials said the summit behavior was a sign that Mr. Jiang, 71

ASIA/PACIFIC

With Russian Aid, India Moves Closer to Building a Nuclear Submarine

By Kevin Sullivan
Washington Post Service

NEW DELHI — When the U.S. aircraft carrier Enterprise steamed into the Bay of Bengal in December 1971, ostensibly to support Pakistan in its war with India, officials in New Delhi decided that it was time to build a nuclear-powered submarine for defense.

Now, after more than 25 years of development, India, with assistance from Russia, is reportedly within months of beginning construction of a nuclear-powered submarine that is capable of carrying nuclear warheads. The development has raised new concerns in a region still rattled by last month's nuclear tests by India and Pakistan.

Although the Indian submarine program is of concern in the region, it is still years away from actually putting a vessel in the water. And although India

defied world opinion and provoked broad economic sanctions to obtain its nuclear capability, it has not made any decisions about deploying nuclear weapons.

Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee said last week that while India considered itself a nuclear weapons state with a credible deterrent, "we have no intention of engaging in a nuclear arms race and building huge arsenals."

Nevertheless, said Gerald Segal, Asia specialist at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, "They are now a weaponized state and there's every reason to believe that they would deploy real warheads on those boats."

Zamir Akram, deputy chief of mission at the Pakistani Embassy in Washington, said, "This is going to be a major capability that they will acquire. It should be a matter of great concern to all nations."

U.S.-China Nuclear Stance Is Hypocritical, India Says

Reuters

NEW DELHI — India accused China and the United States on Sunday of hypocrisy and showing a "hegemonic mentality" after the two countries pledged to work together to head off a nuclear arms race in South Asia.

The Indian government rejected a joint communiqué that called on India and Pakistan to curb their nuclear and missile programs. The communiqué was issued at the end of the Chinese-U.S. summit meeting in Beijing.

New Delhi rebuffed any attempt by Beijing and Washington to mediate between the two South Asian neighbors, both of which conducted nuclear tests last month.

India categorically rejects the notion of these two countries arrogating to themselves joint or individual responsibility for "the maintenance of peace, stability and security in the region," the Indian statement read, quoting from the communiqué.

"This approach reflects the hegemonic mentality of a bygone era in international relations and is completely unacceptable and out of place in the present-day world."

"It is most ironical that two countries that have directly and indirectly contributed to the unabated proliferation of nuclear weapons and delivery systems in our neighborhood are now presuming to prescribe the norms for nonproliferation."

New Delhi "cannot consider" calls to curtail nuclear weapons and missile

development, the statement read, adding that India would follow its own security needs.

India said that it would pursue direct dialogue with Pakistan. "There is no place for any kind of third-party involvement whatsoever," the statement read.

In their joint statement, China and the United States condemned the Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests and declared that the blasts would not gain them membership in the world nuclear club.

China and the United States called on India and Pakistan to join the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty immediately and to refrain from building nuclear weapons or the missiles to deliver them.

■ Pakistan Urges UN Mediation

The foreign minister of Pakistan urged the United Nations on Sunday to move quickly to mediate the Kashmir dispute or risk another war between Pakistan and India, The Associated Press reported from Islamabad, Pakistan.

In an interview, Foreign Minister Ghulam Ayub Khan said that cross-border attacks in the Kashmir region could quickly spin out of control. Mr. Ayub Khan was to meet later in the day with Advaro De Souza, a special envoy of the secretary-general.

"The danger is there of cross-border raids or hot pursuit," he said.

"That would be responded to by us sharply and aggressively," Mr. Ayub Khan said.

Protesters Take Envoys for EU On Timor Tour

Copied by Our Staff From Reuters

DILI, East Timor — Thousands of anti-Indonesian protesters escorted three European ambassadors through the streets of this East Timor city on Sunday as the envoys surveyed political conditions in the troubled territory.

The crowd of about 5,000, many on foot and some in trucks, forced the ambassadors' minibus to a crawl through the streets from their hotel to the home of a leading dissident.

The protesters, including students and local residents, shouted "Referendum" and "Dead or alive, we prefer to be independent" as they followed the envoys.

Troops stood back and watched from a distance, and there were no reports of violence.

One banner draped on a truck said, "East Timor is not part of Indonesia." Other banners had pictures of the jailed East Timorese guerrilla leader, Jose Xanana Gusmao, who is serving a 20-year sentence in a Jakarta jail.

Acting on behalf of the European Union, top envoys in Indonesia from Britain, Austria and the Netherlands are on a fact-finding mission in the former Portuguese colony.

In the morning, the ambassadors met students who called for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops, dialogue among Timorese, a referendum for

After last month's tit-for-tat nuclear tests, the military competition between the two rival nations is now focused on development of missiles and other systems to deliver nuclear warheads.

Both are working to perfect missile technology, but only India has made progress on developing submarines capable of launching those missiles at sea. By the end of this year, India plans to begin construction of a 2,500-ton attack submarine, based on the design of French Rubis-class vessels, that it hopes to complete by 2004, according to Gopi Rethinraj, a science writer, based in Bombay, who tracks the Indian nuclear program, and Andrew Koch, an analyst at the Center for Defense Information in Washington.

Mr. Rethinraj and Mr. Koch, who reported their findings in the June issue of Jane's Intelligence Review, said that if India was successful in building a

nuclear-powered submarine, it would become the only country outside the five established nuclear powers — the United States, China, Britain, France and Russia — to have such a vessel.

"If you want complete security, you have to have the triad: aircraft, land-based missiles and sea-launched missiles," said Mohan Guruvay, a top national security adviser to Mr. Vajpayee's governing Bharatiya Janata Party. "The logic is that even if you are the victim of a surprise attack and your land missiles are destroyed, your submarines can still attack. If you don't have the triad, you are considered vulnerable."

Mr. Guruvay said that India's plan for years has been to develop nuclear-powered submarines, including missile-launching vessels and smaller "hunter-killer" types that do not fire nuclear missiles. He said that the development schedule had not been ac-

celerated because of the new tensions caused by the nuclear tests and that the "timetable is not going to be determined by political issues."

K. Subramanyam, a commentator on defense issues, said it was "much too early to speculate" about whether India would actually put nuclear weapons on submarines. He said that he and many others in India regard nuclear weapons as strictly a deterrent against the use of a nuclear bomb by Pakistan and that deploying them on a submarine may not be compatible with that philosophy.

"Nuclear submarines carrying ballistic missiles — one has to look at that in the context of the minimum deterrence, no-first-strike position and wonder whether you need that kind of thing at all," he said.

Analysts also said that it remained unclear if India would be able to build a nuclear-powered missile submarine,

which is one of the world's most complicated pieces of military hardware. Mr. Segal said the Chinese had been trying for 20 years to perfect sea-launched missile technology, with no clear evidence of success.

But he added that Russian participation in the project could help. Mr. Rethinraj, the writer for Jane's, said that Russian assistance was supposed to be limited to nonnuclear areas, such as "hull design and integrating the hull with the propulsion plant."

"But I don't know how one would be quite confident that the Russians would not be supplying the nuclear sort of assistance, too," Mr. Segal said. "They have shown a willingness to push the envelope on these issues."

Unlike the United States, Japan and other countries, Russia has not imposed economic sanctions on India or Pakistan over their nuclear blasts.

BRIEFLY

Patten Expresses Faith in Hong Kong

HONG KONG — Days before Hong Kong marks the first year of its return to Chinese rule, the last colonial governor, Chris Patten, said Sunday that the territory remained a free society.

"Hong Kong is a free society under the rule of law," Mr. Patten said. "It was last year, and it still is this year."

He was speaking in a prerecorded broadcast on state-owned Radio Hong Kong, his first public address in the territory since his emotional departure last June 30 ended 150 years of colonial rule.

Mr. Patten said the territory's unyielding democratic spirit and strong economic fundamentals will help Hong Kong rebound from Asia's financial crisis. (AP)

Australia Rightist Aims at 3 Officials

CANBERRA — The rightist politician Pauline Hanson said Sunday her increasingly popular One Nation party would work to unseat at least three senior government ministers in a coming Australian election.

The anti-immigration and protectionist One Nation has emerged as a third force in Australian politics.

Mrs. Hanson targeted Deputy Prime Minister Tim Fischer, Foreign Affairs Minister Alexander Downer and Primary Industries Minister John Anderson. (Reuters)



An EU envoy, Robin Christopher, greeting a crowd Sunday in Dili.

self-determination and access by international human rights groups to the territory.

"The European Union has the opinion that the proposal for special status for East Timor will lead to a referendum," a student leader, Antero Bendito Da Silva, said after the meeting.

The British ambassador, Robin Christopher, later spoke to the protesters, urging them to leave peacefully.

"We, the European delegation, have had some very good meetings today," he said. "We've heard many free expressions of opinion. It is important that opinions are expressed

in East Timor. Our mission here is to listen and to hear voices of East Timor. We are here to support the search for a peaceful solution in East Timor that is acceptable to all parties under the United Nations."

After Mr. Christopher's remarks, the crowd dispersed.

On Saturday, rival groups of protesters clashed in front of a Catholic church in Manatuto, about 65 kilometers (40 miles) east of Dili. Troops opened fire when groups of demonstrators supporting Indonesia's claim over the province clashed with opponents of the claim.

Witnesses said a man was killed and two others were hurt. (Reuters, AP)

INTERNATIONAL

Iranian President to Travel to the UN

By Thomas W. Lippman
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Mohammad Khatami of Iran plans to travel to New York in September to address the UN General Assembly, the first such visit by an Iranian head of state since the 1979 revolution.

President Bill Clinton is scheduled to speak before the UN body on the same day, but there are no plans for the two to meet, senior U.S. officials said. A direct encounter is a step neither leader is yet prepared to take in their careful minutiae of rapprochement, U.S. officials and independent analysts said.

Earlier this month, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright announced a shift in U.S. policy toward Iran by offering a "road map" to normal relations. With that offer on the table, senior officials said, the next move is up to Iran. There is little more the United States can do, they said, so long as Iran refuses to participate in official government-to-government negotiations.

That Mr. Khatami is coming to New York, however, does not necessarily mean that his agenda is conciliatory. Many foreign leaders antagonistic to the United States, including Fidel Castro, have used the UN General Assembly as a forum for their complaints against Washington.

The public responses of Iranian officials to Mrs. Albright's June 17 remarks have been cool, but Mr. Khatami himself — locked in a power struggle with a faction militantly hostile to the United States — has not been heard from. In a televised speech congratulating Iran's national soccer team on its victory in a World Cup match, he never mentioned the country the Iranians beat: the United States.

Under the Iranian Constitution, the president is not the most powerful figure. He is subordinate to the supreme religious leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, who commands the armed forces. Ayatollah Khamenei was selected by the late Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and is an heir of Ayatollah Khomeini's anti-American outlook. Nevertheless, senior U.S. officials said, Mr. Clinton, Mrs. Albright and other senior officials are convinced that Iran under Mr. Khatami is not the same as it was before his surprise election 13 months ago. Mrs. Albright's speech was tailored to encourage him to remain on what is seen here as a relatively constructive path.

The speech followed months of discussion about the significance of Mr. Khatami's wide margin of victory over the candidate favored by the radicals. In addition, there is now room for flexibility.

Mr. Clinton made clear that he perceived an opportunity in Mr. Khatami's wide margin of victory over the candidate favored by the radicals. In addition, there is now room for flexibility.

in the U.S. position because two men who had been strongly influential in shaping a U.S. policy of hostility to Iran — the late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel and former Secretary of State Warren Christopher — are gone from the scene.

"Rabin spoke of Iran almost every day as an existential threat to Israel," a senior administration official said. The current Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, "has not spoken in those terms."

"It doesn't mean he's not concerned about Iran's weapons of mass destruction," the official said, "but he, like us, sees some evidence that there is a potential strategic change going on inside Iran."

In December, U.S. officials heard encrypted reports from Saudi Arabia and from the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat, about the conference of Islamic nations in Tehran. The conference is issued to stress that Iran is a sponsor of terrorism and is bent on acquiring nuclear weapons and the missiles on which to deliver them, senior officials also began commenting on positive developments, such as Iran's cooperation with the United States in a quest for peace in Afghanistan.

Beginning late last winter, the tone of the administration's public commentary on Iran began to change. While continuing to stress that Iran is a sponsor of terrorism and is bent on acquiring nuclear weapons and the missiles on which to deliver them, senior officials also began commenting on positive developments, such as Iran's cooperation with the United States in a quest for peace in Afghanistan.

And though the relationship between the two countries is far from ideal, the two sides are attempting to reestablish a relationship that had been severed by the 1979 revolution.

"She was particularly interested in how a U.S. initiative in one direction or another would help Khatami or hurt Khatami," one participant said.

While no formal interagency review of Iran policy was held, a senior official said, "It was clear for all to see that the developments in Iran were very interesting" and required a shift in the U.S. posture.

The anti-immigration and protectionist One Nation has emerged as a third force in Australian politics.

Mrs. Hanson targeted Deputy Prime Minister Tim Fischer, Foreign Affairs Minister Alexander Downer and Primary Industries Minister John Anderson. (Reuters)

Algerians at Burial Vent Anger

The Associated Press

BENI DOUALA, Algeria — Showing anger both against Muslim militants who murdered a beloved entertainer and against the government for suppressing their language, tens of thousands of Berbers thronged the village burial on Sunday of the singer Lounes Matoub.

Three days of rioting after Mr. Matoub's murder on Thursday left at least two persons dead, 100 wounded and several state buildings ravaged in the mountainous Berber region of eastern Algeria.

It was apparently the worst unrest in the region since the so-called Berber Spring uprising of 1980.

"No peace without the Berber language," read one sign at the funeral Sunday. "Zeroual, murderer," read another. The military-backed government of President Liamine Zeroual has decreed that Arabic will be the only official language from July 5.

"We are not Arabs!" chanted mourners under a stifling summer heat. Women ululated in this village 100 kilometers (60 miles) east of Algiers.

Berber leaders called a general strike on Sunday, but no incidents were reported around the funeral at a cemetery near the village. Both Mr. Matoub's family and Prime Minister Ahmed Ouyahia had appealed for calm.

In the capital, Algiers, on Sunday

several dozen university students at the Institute for Foreign Languages and other schools chanted slogans against the government and demanded recognition of the Berber language.

In Paris, Algerians and French supporters gathered near the Eiffel Tower and at the Place de la Republique to honor Mr. Matoub and denounce his murder.

An impassioned defender of Berber culture, the 42-year-old singer was the latest Algerian artist to be slain in an Islamic insurgency that has claimed more than 75,000 lives.

The killing of the singer inflamed Berber anger at the government's plans to impose Arabic as the only official language. This would have the effect of banning the Berber language, known as Tamazight, as well as French, which is widely used in this former French colony.

"People are angry, but you must understand their frustration, because Tamazight is marginalized," Nouredine Ali-Hamouda, a member of the Movement for Berber Culture, said to reporters at the funeral.

The Arabic-only law move is condemned by opponents as a government's attempt to supporters of Islamic movements. Thus a group called the Rally for Culture and Democracy accused the government of "passive complicity" with the fundamentalists.

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HEALTH/SCIENCE

TOMORROW'S
STYL

Fat vs. Fit Debate Divides Medicine

Does Exercise Benefit the Obese?

By Linda Villarosa
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Deborah Gregory, a Manhattan writer who describes herself as in her late 30s, is a big woman. Stylish and attractive, Ms. Gregory is noticed when she walks into a room. She eats a balanced diet, sleeps well and works an hour of exercise into her busy schedule almost every day. She considers herself fit and healthy. But at 5 feet 11 and 227 pounds (1.80 meters and 103 kilograms), Ms. Gregory is also obese, at least as obesity is now defined under new federal guidelines.

The question for Ms. Gregory and others like her is this: Can a person be both fit and fat? The question, which was argued publicly at a forum at the American College of Sports Medicine annual meeting this month, is at the heart of a debate among doctors, fitness experts and other health professionals.

While both sides agree that being overweight — or worse, obese — is associated with many serious health risks, the argument centers on whether the real problem is being fat or being unfit.

Ms. Gregory admits she would like to shed a few pounds and would be delighted if her workout regimen allowed her to do that, but she said, "I've been about this size for the last 14 years, and I never imagine myself being thin."

Hearing of Ms. Gregory, Dr. Claude Bouchard, an obesity researcher at Laval University in Quebec, said it was "marvelous" that she exercised regularly, but stressed that exercise alone was not going to prevent heart disease, cancer or diabetes. To reduce those risks, he said, she must lose weight. "She does a lot of good for herself by exercising," Dr. Bouchard said, "but at this weight, she remains at great risk of having medical difficulties down the road."

Dr. Steven Blair, an epidemiologist with the Cooper Institute for Aerobics Research in Dallas, disagrees. "I am darned confident that her exercise habit is improving her health even if she remains heavy," he said.

To emphasize his point, Dr. Blair cited

his own research, the Aerobics Center Longitudinal Study, which looked at the association of physical fitness to mortality risk in 25,000 overweight and normal-weight subjects. "She is better off as she is than if she were lean and unfit," Dr. Blair said. "Healthy bodies come in all shapes and sizes."

The fit vs. fat debate has been renewed in recent weeks with the release of new definitions of overweight and obesity that use body mass index — a measure of weight in relation to height — as a primary measuring tool. The 24-member expert panel convened by the National Heart Lung and Blood Institute lowered the point at which a person is defined as overweight to a body mass index of 25 from 27 and obese to 30 from 35. According to the new standards, with a body mass index of 32, Ms. Gregory is clearly obese.

The revised definition also means that many more Americans are classified as overweight and obese — a total of 97 million — up from 72 million under the former guidelines. And the Surgeon General's 1996 report on physical activity and health estimates that 25 percent of Americans are totally sedentary and another 46 percent are not regularly active.

With these numbers in mind, the American Heart Association this month upgraded obesity to a major risk factor for a heart attack from a contributing risk. A sedentary lifestyle has been listed as a major risk factor since 1992. "It was about time obesity moved from a back-seat position," said Dr. Robert Eckel, vice chairman of the American Heart Association's Nutrition Committee.

Both the heart association and the heart lung institute panel relied on a number of large studies linking obesity to heart disease, stroke, diabetes, gall bladder disease and some cancers. The panel's statement noted that obesity leads to more preventable deaths than all other causes, second only to smoking.

At the fitness camp, Glenn Gaesser, an associate professor of exercise physiology at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, is quick to counter that obesity has been overestimated and



Deborah Gregory works an hour of exercise into each day.

inactivity underestimated as a risk factor for illnesses like heart disease and diabetes and for early death.

"Is it possible that some of the people in these studies are in ill health not because they're fat, but because they're unfit?" Mr. Gaesser said. He quoted 1993 data from the Harvard Alumni Study, in which a group of men who were initially unfit increased their fitness levels and experienced a 44 percent reduction in risk of early death.

He also cited Dr. Blair's research, which found that heavy but fit men lived longer than thin, sedentary men. "Weight didn't matter, it was fitness level," he said. "If we're going to send a message to the public, it should be to become fitter and not necessarily worry about losing weight."

Dr. JoAnn Manson, an endocrinologist at the Harvard School of Public Health and Harvard Medical School, says that though she is a tremendous proponent of exercise, obesity is a stronger risk factor than physical inactivity for diabetes, hypertension and postmenopausal breast cancer and endometrial cancer.

"There is strong compelling evidence in random clinical trials that weight loss through reducing caloric intake had a more favorable effect on blood pressure, cholesterol and insulin sensitivity than physical activity without weight loss," Dr. Manson said. "As far as preventing mortality," she added, "if you had to pin me down, later in life — after 65 or 70 — maintaining physical activity may be more important than avoiding weight gain. Earlier in life avoiding obesity may be slightly more important."

Dr. Bouchard said that he thought all this back and forth over fit vs. fat might be moot. "Even if we have five studies saying that if you're fit you alleviate some of the consequences of obesity, the obese people, by and large, are not fit and they don't exercise," he said. "Ninety percent of them will never be active. If they were, they would not be obese in the first place. That's the reality."

In Yellowstone, Wrestling Nature Hands On or Off the Ecosystem?

By William K. Stevens
New York Times Service

YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK, Wyoming — Perhaps nowhere else in the United States outside Alaska can nature be seen at work so readily, so completely and so authentically as in Yellowstone where the world-famous landscape has just fully awakened from winter and is at its vibrant best.

On a brisk evening in late spring, with clouds enfolding mountains still capped with snow and a setting sun gilding newly green hillsides and meadows, a remarkable drama between predator and prey plays out right by the roadside: A pronghorn antelope, defending her newborn from a coyote, rushes at him fearlessly and repeatedly. Soon she has chased him many yards away, and he gives up.

A bit farther along the road, again within easy sight of it, a black bear steadily and persistently scoops ants from under a fallen log, a casualty of one of Yellowstone's occasional fires, and stuffs them in her mouth while her cub patiently squats on its haunches nearby.

It is a remarkable concentration of activity in a span of 20 minutes or so, but it is a mere hint of the bafflingly complex web of energy transfers — from sun to grass, grass to plant-eater, plant-eater to predator, fire-felled tree to insect and microbe — that define what many experts say is the most complete large ecosystem (since wolves were re-introduced in 1995) in the contiguous 48 states.

But how natural is it, really? And what does it mean to be natural, in this day and age? These questions lie at the heart of a contentious debate over how to manage the park, and, more broadly, over how people should relate to nature.

The debate has crystallized around a policy known here natural regulation. This is the 30th anniversary of its inception, and natural regulation has grown to encompass a broader reach than in 1968, when it was applied more narrowly to management of the park's famous elk population. Natural regulation means different things to different people. As applied to the elk herds, it means letting the size of the herds fluctuate naturally according to changes in climate, food supply and pressure from predators rather than trying to manage the herds' size by culling elk or propagating them artificially. To some critics of the park's management, natural regulation means a laissez-faire, hands-off policy of letting nature take its course, and they say it is causing much ecological damage.

To the current Yellowstone management, natural regulation means letting nature take its course most of the time, but intervening as necessary to correct problems resulting from human encroachment. "If nature is making all the right decisions, then you let nature make the decisions," said John Varley, the park's chief scientist. But "if there is something dysfunctional caused by humankind, then we need to go in and fix it."

The latter is a succinct statement of the prevailing philosophy among conservation biologists today: Because pervasive human activity is unavoidably altering nature, people have a responsibility to intervene when something they do causes things to go wrong.

THIS is no less true in Yellowstone, many experts believe, even though the park may be, as Mr. Varley says, "as close to authentic nature as we have in the lower 48." Not even magnificent Yellowstone has escaped major effects of human impact. For this reason, and because Yellowstone park is big and is under public management, advocates of natural regulation as defined by the park managers argue that this is one of the best places in the country to test it.

The big argument involves which intervention, and how much, is necessary. The less the better, says Michael Finley, the park superintendent. "It's not hands-off; it's hands-on on the tiller."

Meanwhile the ecosystem, natural or not, churns along. "People come here and they look at Yellowstone, and they go, 'My god, this is paradise,'" said Robert Crabtree, an independent ecologist in the Yellowstone area. "But for those of us here, we can do better as a world ecosystem. We've got problems, but I believe they're solvable."

Viagra Side Effect: New Turmoil for Troubled Marriages

By Jennifer Steinbauer
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — On the surface, the couple from Queens seemed like perfect candidates for Viagra.

They have been married for 30 years, and he began having trouble achieving an erection a few years ago. While unhappy about it, the husband, 59, had learned to see some good in it. "My eye doesn't wander anymore," he said, "because I can't do anything about it."

And though the woman, 53, said she "could not imagine staying in a relationship without sex," she, too, had reconciled herself to having other kinds of intimacy and other forms of sex.

Viagra, the popular new drug for impotence, would appear to be their ticket back to a more conventional sex life. But like many couples contemplating Viagra, the two are starkly divided about whether to try it: While he is looking for a medical panacea for a physical prob-

lem that often comes with age, she has long wondered whether the problem might be better addressed on a therapist's couch than in a doctor's office.

A few months ago, Viagra was being promoted by everyone from urologists to drug company analysts as destined to help solve millions of Americans' sexual problems. The drug flew off pharmacy shelves. But therapists and experts on sexuality are finding that Viagra and other impotence aids may actually throw into chaos relationships that have fallen into their own routine, sexual dysfunction and all.

The most common problem, they say, is that men hope to treat their impotence as a simple mechanical issue, while women tend to want to address the emotions related to impotence. In other cases, a man and woman are forced to confront their divergent views about what it means to have sex and how often they want to have it — issues that impotence had rendered moot.

The result is that many couples are

finding that a solution to what they thought was a medical problem may uncover other issues in the relationship.

"We are in a very high-tech society, and people are used to having things done very quickly," said Eileen Palace, director of the Center for Sexual Health at Tulane University Hospital in New Orleans. "We saw in the 1960s how the pill could control biology. Later, we saw how to control infertility. People want a simple, easy, fast solution. And many physicians assume that just because there is a physical problem means there is no psychological cause."

Urologists interviewed for this article said they had been writing Viagra prescriptions by the dozens, many for patients who had never before said they were impotent. Some had not even confided in their partners. Instead, they simply avoided sex.

"The guy sees himself having trouble, and he, out of embarrassment and lack of communicativity, he says, 'I am going to sleep in the other room,'" said

Dr. Walter Bortz, a geriatrics specialist at the Palo Alto Medical Foundation, in California. "The wife thinks he has a girlfriend. And it becomes a gulf that enters a well-cemented relationship, because egos get in the way."

When the possibility of sex resurfaces, a couple is often at a loss. They never talked much about their problems before, and now they have no idea how to approach the change. In the meantime, all the issues that contributed to the impotence or resulted from it have been long swept under the rug.

"When someone hears about Viagra, they are expecting to get better on their sexual problems," said Douglas Whitehead, director of the Association for Male Sexual Dysfunction in New York. "But there are many issues that affect desire, life stresses, the stock market, other issues. But most of the time, people don't talk about those problems."

The woman from Queens said she was frustrated and had given up trying to persuade her husband to address the emotional aspects of their problems in therapy. "His doctor suggested he go into therapy because he couldn't find any medical reason for his borderline erections," she said. "I thought therapy was a great opportunity, but he didn't want to do it."

Therapy is where many couples dealing with impotence belong, even if they use Viagra, many doctors say. The couple may never have discussed the inevitable resentment and pain that resulted from their damaged sex lives,

feelings that will not disappear with medication. Once Viagra allows a couple to have sex again, their relationship can change. For example, Viagra, which must be taken an hour before intercourse, and other drugs for impotence leave little room for spontaneous romantic encounters. What is more, a couple used to not having sex may be out of practice in the language and gestures of sexual intimacy.

DR. Palace recalled a man with diabetes, which often contributes to impotence, who would inject drugs to help achieve erections. "He came in to tears, because his wife's romantic gesture was to lay the syringe on the pillow," she said. "You have to be able to talk about the role of the treatment in the relationship."

Steven and Katherine, who spoke on the condition that their last name not be used, married shortly after testicular cancer left him impotent in 1990. They then found their relationship in trouble when Steven began using penile injections.

"When we would go to the urologist," Katherine said, "they would come up with this or that and address really only my husband and his physical problems." This or that turned out to be injections that produced erections but terrible sex. The injections themselves were disturbing enough, she said, but the underlying problem was her unacknowledged feelings about having married a man who was impotent.

Ultimately, she said, she worked

through the problem in sex therapy at Tulane. "Part of what therapy did was help me face the grief that I had never faced being married to a man who was impotent."

Steven agreed that he had not thought through the emotional issues related to their sexual problems. "I thought my primary problem was plumbing," he said. "One thing that amazed me when we finally opened the lines of communication was that my sexual performance was not satisfactory for her. I thought things were fine. But because she loved me anyway, she made a conscious decision to forgo a good sexual life to have a good marriage."

In the end, they have decided to forgo Viagra and explore other avenues of sexual intimacy.

While many therapists and urologists say that most men are loath to discuss their sexual problems with anyone, especially a therapist, the men themselves see Viagra as an easy way out.

Pepper Schwartz, a professor of sociology at the University of Washington in Seattle and author of several books about American sexual habits, cited two things about Viagra that appeal to men: "They don't have to talk about impotence, and they have a high assurance of potential good in using it."

He added: "The issues that have been shrugged off are the psychological and social aspects of it. And I do believe that any drug that alters the core way a couple relates to each other requires discussions of expectations and pressures."

CROSSWORD

ACROSS
1 Polish's partner
2 Silent actress
3 Normandy
10 Disappearing phone feature
14 Busy person's list heading
15 "The Barber of Seville," e.g.
16 Lounging
17 Dreadful end
18 Homewoggle
19 Butcher's stock
20 Short-lived success
22 Skull

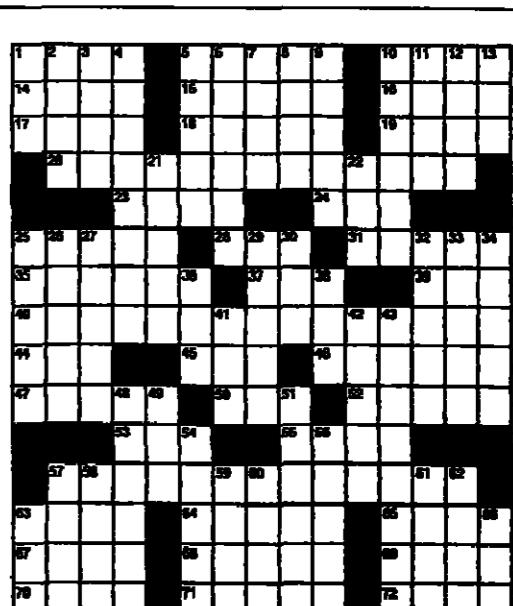
DOWN
1 The usual: Abbr.
2 [It's gone]
3 False god
4 Hawaia's weapon
5 Coffee shop order
6 Plant pests
7 Existed
8 The "E" in Q.E.D.
9 Carpenter's machine
10 Feature of a baby face
11 The very notion
12 TV's Thicks
13 "Me Call You Sweetheart"
21 Caterpillar hairs

ACROSS
22 North Pole toymaker
23 Farm fraction
25 Old hat
26 The Titanic, e.g.
27 Muse of poetry
28 Out-and-out
29 Old-fashioned "Phooey!"
32 Russian royals
33 Rica
34 Impudent girl
35 Kettle sound
36 Black-eyed

41 Prefix with colonial
42 Blinding light
43 Look like
44 Salt, e.g.
45 And so on, for short

46 Close securely, with "down"
47 Rollerblade
48 Deep Blue's game
52 Switchblade
53 Ocean motion
54 Footnote abbr.
55 Christian

56 Russia's Mountains
57 Beverly Hills, e.g.
58 Civil War battles
59 Million —
60 March



Puzzle by Gregory E. Paul

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A New Moment and Horses Galore

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — "This case is of high moment," wrote Independent Counsel Ken Starr to the Supreme Court, because it involved "fundamental constitutional issues."

"We are fallen upon times," pro-mulgated Pope Leo XIII in an encyclical a century ago, "when a violent and well-nigh daily battle is being fought about matters of highest moment."

"Considerations of high moment call on the American," wrote The Southern Literary Messenger in 1839, "to extend and disseminate every facility which our country can afford, for the promotion of information. Upon this pillar rests the question of man's capability for self-government."

Heavy stuff. In dealing with the voguish, momentary popularity of "moments" in this space recently (*senior moments*, *Zen moments*, *Maalox moments*), I neglected the essence of the word expressed in the adjective "momentous": "of great weight; of major significance." *Moment*, in this sense, seems like one of those Janus words with opposite meanings, like *sanction* (penalty; approval) or *sanguine* (bloody; optimistic). How can *moment* be both "fleeting" and "of consequence"?

Look to the Latin *momentum*, "movement." When you place a tiny particle on a perfectly balanced scale, you cause it to move; thus, even a time of incalculable brievity or the lightest weight of an argument, when added to one of the scales in equilibrium, breaks the balance and creates movement, which gains momentum, changes minds and moves the world. That's how a transitory moment can be of high

"moment. High," in this phrase, means "significant" — more than in "high official" — as much as in "high crimes" or "high dudgeon." Fred Shapiro, co-editor of "Trial and Error: An Oxford Anthology of Legal Stories," tracks *high moment* back in legal usage to an 1861 opinion condemning a Confederate ship for violating a Union blockade.

At a time when *important* has lost its zip, *significant* is too lightly bandied about and even *consequential* lacks gravamen; it's comforting to see *moment* regaining its moment.

INTERNATIONAL

New Effort Is Launched to Develop an AIDS Vaccine — The 'Best Hope'

Reuters

GENEVA — A new global plan to speed up AIDS vaccine development was launched at the start of the 12th World AIDS conference on Sunday.

The International AIDS Vaccine Initiative, an independent nonprofit scientific organization, released its "scientific blueprint" designed to advance progress in preventative vaccines against the HIV virus, which causes AIDS, and to get them into trials in developing countries where they are needed most.

"Only a vaccine has any chance of ending the global AIDS epidemic," Dr. Seth Berkley, the organization's president, told a news conference. "However," he said, "the world is not on track to meet the goal of a safe and effective AIDS vaccine in the next decade."

"The purpose of this program outlined here is to put vaccine development back on a fast track. This is our best hope of stopping the epidemic that has continued to gallop along with the current 16,000 newly infected persons each day."

The organization plans to identify gaps in

scientific development, provide technical assistance in poorer countries and encourage public and private collaboration in vaccine research.

It is also recommending the creation of up to six international product development teams to identify promising vaccines and get them into trials quickly.

The first large-scale human trials of a vaccine against the HIV virus began in the United States earlier this month, but there are no other drugs in the pipeline that are due to enter phase III, or late-stage, efficacy trials before 2000.

The vaccine, AIDSVAX, developed by the California biotechnology company VaxGen, is being tested in several centers in the United States and is also being considered for trials in Thailand, where the virus is spreading fast.

More than 40 potential vaccines are being tested but AIDSVAX is the first to go into human trials.

■ Third World Would Get Tests Sooner

An ethics panel convened by the United Nations is recommending major changes in the way experimental vaccines are tested in people,

Lawrence K. Altman of The New York Times reported from Geneva.

The recommendation comes in response to impassioned pleas from developing countries desperately seeking a vaccine to fight the AIDS epidemic.

Earlier guidelines, intended to prevent exploitation, called for testing any experimental AIDS vaccine in the country where it was made before testing it in a developing country.

But on Saturday, after a two-day meeting, the panel recommended that such trials be allowed to take place in any country, including those in the Third World, even if not tested first in the manufacturer's country.

The old guidelines were having the unintended effect of impeding possible vaccine trials in many developing countries, said panel members from developing countries such as Zambia, Thailand and Uganda.

"We are asking for more flexibility in the guidelines right now," said Sophia Mukasa Monico, director of an AIDS support organization in Uganda.

Reflecting a widespread view on the panel that American ethical standards should not be imposed on developing countries during an epidemic, Major Rubamira Ruranga, who works at a research center in Kampala, Uganda, asked rhetorically, "Who should be a guinea pig for whom?"

"What is ethical in one place is not always what is ethical in another," he said, pointing out that 90 percent of the people infected by the AIDS virus every day around the world are in developing countries.

The discussions came at what Dr. Peter Piot, the head of the UN AIDS Program, said was the first international meeting on the ethics of AIDS vaccines. The United Nations has sponsored six regional meetings on the issue during the last two years.

The panel's actions are expected to be largely adopted by the UN AIDS Program and thus by researchers worldwide. They represent a shift from older attitudes of paternalism and protectionism to greater empowerment by developing countries and a victory over what leaders in

such countries regard as cultural imperialism, Dr. Piot said.

"People in Africa are not as ignorant as they were 10 to 20 years ago, and they know their rights," said Dr. Nkandu Luo, the minister of health for Zambia.

In the past, drug companies and scientists have conducted research on people in the Third World that led to development of drugs that were not made readily available to people in the countries where the research was done. In allowing the first trials of a vaccine to take place in developing countries, the panel said, the host country had to have adequate scientific and administrative ability to avoid harm to volunteers.

To help guard against exploitation, the panel called for requiring informed consent from each individual before that person is enrolled in a vaccine trial. The new recommendation could end a widespread practice of allowing a village chief or local leader to give blanket approval for the participation in vaccine trials of all those living in a village.

BRIEFLY

4 Killed as Rockets Strike Afghan Capital

KABUL — Rockets slammed into the Afghan capital, Kabul, on Sunday in one of the deadliest assaults in a year, killing four people and wounding several others, hospital officials and witnesses said.

Throughout the day the rockets rained the city. In all, a total of 15 rockets landed, witnesses said.

The rockets were fired by opposition soldiers based north of the capital.

The opposition, led by an ousted president and a former military chief, vowed to keep up its assault on the capital, and particularly the airport, to prevent Taliban jet fighters from using the airstrip. But within minutes of one rocket attack, another landed on the undamaged runway.

The Taliban and its opponents have been waging fierce battles on at least three fronts. The anti-Taliban alliance controls about 15 percent of Afghanistan. The remaining 85 percent is ruled by the Taliban religious army, which has imposed its harsh version of Islamic law over the region. (AP)

2 Officers Are Fired Over Luxor Massacre

CAIRO — An Egyptian police court dismissed two senior officers for negligence Sunday in the massacre last year of 62 people in the southern city of Luxor, officials said.

Fifty-eight tourists and four Egyptians were killed in the Nov. 17 attack by Muslim radicals at the Temple of Hatshepsut near Luxor, one of the country's most popular tourist attractions. The attack devastated the tourism industry in Egypt.

After the attack, President Hosni Mubarak publicly blamed the interior minister, who resigned soon after, and ordered an internal police investigation.

In his verdict on Sunday, Judge Imad Ismael said the two officers had failed to work out a proper plan to protect the site and neglected tips by security agents that terrorist attacks were possible. (AP)

Chirac Honors Tutu With a High Award

STELLENBOSCH, South Africa — President Jacques Chirac of France presented one of his nation's highest awards to the retired Archbishop Desmond Tutu on Sunday for his anti-apartheid activities.

Mr. Chirac pinned a silver star with a red ribbon on the Anglican archbishop's lapel, making him a grand officer of the Legion of Honor, France's highest award to nonheads of state. Bishop Tutu, who led protests against apartheid that ended with the first all-race elections in 1994, said the struggle had been inspired by the French Revolution. (AP)

Israeli Settlers Unsettled

They Increase Pressure to Limit Pullback

By Lee Hockstader
Washington Post Service

PSAGOT, West Bank — From his office window in this Jewish settlement, Pinhas Wallerstein has a picture-perfect view of the Palestinian city of Ramallah — sun-splashed, sweltering and, to Mr. Wallerstein, sinister.

"If a man there has a rifle with a telescope on it, he could shoot me even now," he said with a nod toward the urban sprawl framed in the middle distance.

Mr. Wallerstein, head of a national council representing Jewish settlers in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, is a voluble and patient man, well versed in the arts of political persuasion. He meets regularly with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who holds the fate of the settlements in his hands.

These days Mr. Wallerstein devotes all his effort, and his access, to making sure that Palestinian-controlled territory in the West Bank does not come any closer to Jewish settlers than it already is.

As the debate here reaches a boil over an American proposal for Israel to withdraw troops from 13 percent of the West Bank land it occupies and turn it over to at least partial Palestinian control, Jewish settlers have launched an aggressive and expensive lobbying campaign aimed at blocking any pullback.

It is a campaign pitched in the existential terms of a life-or-death struggle. In the settlers' view, an Israeli pullback of such dimensions would not move the Middle East peace process closer to resolution. Rather, it could leave 18 of their communities — and nearly 10,000 Jewish settlers — stranded in a Palestinian sea.

That, they say, would jeopardize not only their electricity and water supply, their phones and access roads, but also their lives and livelihoods in a land many of them regard as granted to the Jews by God.

"How can the Israeli government take it upon themselves to endanger will-

fully Israeli citizens?" asked Yehudit Tayar, spokeswoman for the settlers' council, indignation rising in her voice. "This is literally about life and death."

To bring home that point, about 30 settlers pitched tents last week across from Mr. Netanyahu's office, insisting that they will keep an open-ended vigil there as the Israeli leader ponders the pullback question.

The settlers' council also is mailing leaflets to virtually every Jewish household in Israel, arguing the case against a pullback. It is planning pickets outside the homes of cabinet ministers who are wavering on the issue and posting signs-waving activists at major intersections around the country.

Every Friday for the last month, the council has taken key party activists from the conservative government coalition on flights over the West Bank, whose patchwork of towns, cities and settlements is home to 160,000 Jewish settlers and about 1.6 million Palestinians.

The aerial tours are designed to convince Israel's power elite of the dire fate awaiting the settlers in any further land transfer.

The pressure tactics, along with open threats from conservative lawmakers to quit the coalition and bring down the government, have raised the stakes for Mr. Netanyahu. Although Israel has already committed itself to some sort of pullback under the 1993 Oslo peace accords, Mr. Netanyahu has recently broached the possibility of a referendum on withdrawal.

Many in Israel's peace camp see the protracted discussion of a referendum nothing more than a delaying tactic by Mr. Netanyahu. From the outset, they say, it was clear that the peace process would leave the Jewish settlements increasingly isolated.

"There's no question there will be settlements made into enclaves by a redeployment, but this has nothing to do



JERUSALEM TOUR — A Spanish priest explaining archaeological ruins in the Old City on Sunday to Spain's prime minister, Jose Maria Aznar, left, who was to discuss another Madrid peace conference on the Mideast.

with Israel's security," said Galia Golan, an activist in the pro-Oslo Israeli organization Peace Now.

"The battle with the settlers has to come sooner or later, it's true. Anything done now or later is going to endanger them. But that's why the settlements were put where they were put in the first place — near highly populated Palestinian areas — so they couldn't be given back. That was the whole point."

The government has not issued maps that specify which land might be handed over to the Palestinians under an Israeli redeployment of any size. But settlers and other analysts have made educated guesses as to which bits of land are the most likely candidates.

According to the settlers' council, 18 Jewish communities in the West Bank would be at risk if Israel were to pull its

troops out of 8 percent to 10 percent of the West Bank. Most of the settlements likely to be left as enclaves are small communities in the south near Hebron and in the north between Nablus and Jenin. In those areas, the widely scattered Jewish settlements are small and most contain fewer than 100 families.

In one instance, two tiny Jewish settlements — Homesh, with barely 50 families, and Sa-Nur, with just 27 — already sit amid a cluster of much larger Palestinian towns in the north. Any further pullback of Israeli troops would probably leave the land around those settlements under Palestinian civil administration with joint Palestinian and Israeli security patrols. To the settlers, that is a chilling prospect.

Even now, Mr. Wallerstein is so wary of his Palestinian neighbors that when he

drives to Beit El, another Jewish settlement just to the north of his office in Psagot, he goes 25 kilometers (15 miles) out of his way, swinging out on a wide loop to the east, rather than cutting directly through a sliver of Ramallah.

"I'm afraid," he said.

Israel seized the West Bank from Jordan in the 1967 Middle East war. Under the terms of peace accords signed since 1993, Israel has handed back 3 percent of the territory outright to Palestinian control. An additional 24 percent has been turned over to the Palestinian civil authority, with security provided by joint Palestinian and Israeli patrols. The American proposal of a further 13 percent pullback, which has been accepted by the Palestinians, would put 40 percent of the West Bank under full or partial Palestinian control.

No Survivors In Plane of UN Angola Envoy

The Associated Press

MANGROVE SWAMPS NEAR AKOURE, Ivory Coast — Mangled body parts, luggage and personal identity documents were strewn in wreckage of a small chartered plane carrying the UN envoy to Angola that crashed Friday evening.

More than 36 hours after the plane crashed on a piece of dry land surrounded by extensive mangrove swamps some 50 kilometers east of Ivory Coast's commercial capital of Abidjan, pieces of the aircraft continued to smolder in grass and bushes.

A party of soldiers and journalists who hacked through kilometers of mud, water and thick forest reached the crash site Sunday afternoon to find bodies mutilated beyond recognition littered across a 100-meter area along with the smoldering remains of the aircraft.

Six personal identity documents were discovered, including one belonging to United Nations special envoy to Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, 59.

The other five documents bore the names of a Senegalese journalist, Moktar Gueye, a Chadian national, Beadegar Dessimande, a Togolese Foreign Minister official, Koffi Adoyi, and two people of unidentified nationality — Jason McNeill and Ibkilene Williams.

There was no sign of survivors.

There was a discrepancy over the number of people on board — Ivorian officials said either seven or eight, while Togolese officials said seven. One Portuguese national and two South African pilots were reported to be among those on board.

Mr. Beye, a well-respected diplomat from Mali, is credited with leading UN peace efforts in Angola, which has suffered on-again off-again fighting since civil war began after independence from Portugal in 1975.

The plane left Togo's capital of Lome on Friday evening after Mr. Beye met with President Gnassingbe Eyadema in a bid to win support for the Angolan peace process.

The aircraft disappeared east of Abidjan's international airport around 7:00 P.M. on Friday night and search-and-rescue operations were begun.

Mr. Beye mediated the 1994 peace pact signed in Lusaka.



The tailfin of the downed light aircraft on Sunday.

Britain Reportedly Hid Nuclear Mishaps

Reuters

LONDON — Mishaps involving British nuclear weapons during the Cold War were never revealed to the foreign governments — Germany, Cyprus and Malta — on whose territory they occurred, according to a report published Sunday.

The report is based on details from a senior official in the Ministry of Defense, according to its author, Eddie Goncalves, a campaigner for nuclear disarmament at the independent Center for Nuclear Information.

It focuses on about 20 mishaps that it says occurred in Britain and abroad over the years.

At the Bruggen Royal Air Force station in Germany in 1984, a nuclear bomb dropped off the trailer that was transporting it and bounced twice before ending upside down. Mr. Goncalves says a 200-page "Top Secret" report by the Defense Ministry shows that X-rays of the bomb revealed extensive damage.

Even now, Mr. Goncalves said, he could not comment on the details of the alleged incidents.

But she added: "We would stress that over 40 years there has never been an incident involving a nuclear weapon which has led to, or come anywhere near leading to, the release of radioactive material into the environment."

A spokeswoman for the Defense Ministry said that she could not comment on the details of the alleged incidents.

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Health and Safety Agency as cultural norms. Patients in Africa are not as ignorant as we are. In 1984, Nkandu Luo, then Minister of Health and Sanitation, said that drug companies are not doing enough research on people in Africa. The development of a vaccine will be a long time coming. In the meantime, the panel recommends that countries have a policy to avoid having to give informed consent to a child person. This new recommendation is a practice of allowing children to give blanket consent in vaccine trials.

BRIEFLY

4 Killed as Rock
Strike Afghans

Rockets shot down at Kabul, only
one rocket hit the airport and wounded
several officials and
on the day there
was 21, a total of
1000 said.
Rockets were fired by
the Soviet and north of their
airbase there, led by the
Soviet, the military
airbase, the result on the
airport, top
officer from many
countries of one
of the bases based on the
airbase and as
a result of these tanks
and anti-aircraft
guns 15 persons
including 10 per
sonnel and 5
officers were
killed and were
injured.

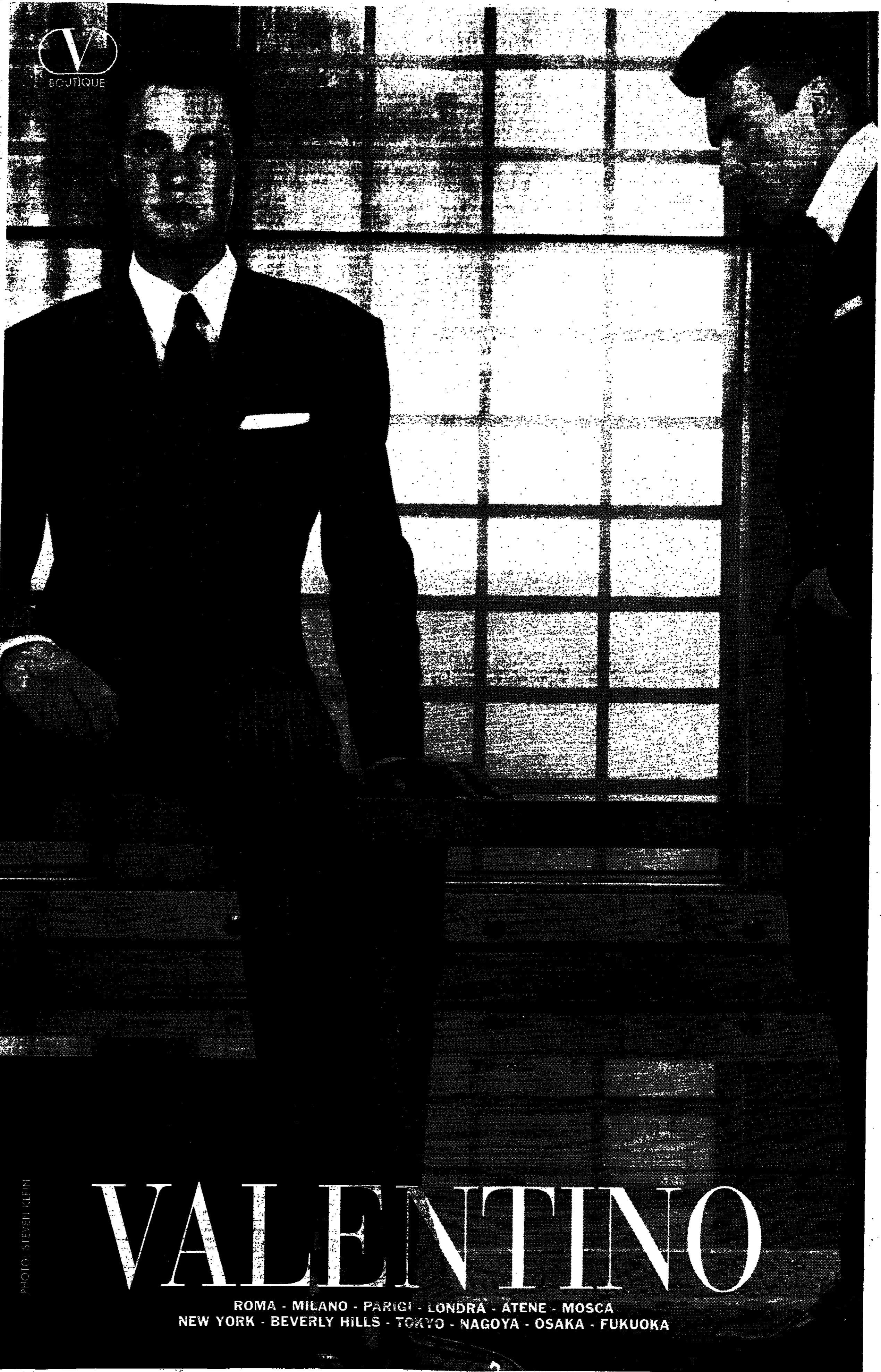
2 Officers are
Over Luxor Ma

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Nonlinear Political Turbule

PHOTO: STEVEN BIEHN



EDITORIALS/OPINION

Herald Tribune
INTERNATIONAL

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

How to Defuse Kashmir

Until last month, Kashmir seemed just another obscure, intractable ethnic conflict. But now that India and Pakistan have tested nuclear weapons, the dispute has become a matter of urgent concern. Three wars have been fought over Kashmir in 50 years. The United States and other countries can help defuse tensions, but India and Pakistan must make a new attempt to sort out their differences now that these divisions could become the pretext for a nuclear war.

The conflict over Kashmir began with Britain's hasty retreat from empire, which left India and Pakistan to fight over its status. That fight has since become an emotional test of principle and identity. As India's only Muslim state, Jammu and Kashmir, as it is officially called, has been torn by an insurrection that has cost 20,000 lives in the last decade and pinned down a major portion of India's armed forces. This month, guerrillas seeking independence for the state have ambushed two weddings, leaving more than two dozen people dead, and blown up a train.

India argues that ceding Kashmir would in effect repudiate its efforts to forge a multiethnic state. Pakistan rejects India's possession of Kashmir as illegitimate, a freak of history that resulted because the state's Hindu maharajah chose India at the time of independence.

Since the beginning of the dispute, the United States and other outsiders have backed the United Nations' demand for a plebiscite. India rejects that approach, and many Muslims in other parts of the country fear that if Kashmir were somehow lost, they would be subjected to violent retaliation by

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

The Smoking Warhead

VX is one of the deadliest poison gases. A few drops will kill a person in minutes. Spokesmen for Saddam Hussein's totalitarian regime long have denied that Iraq possessed weapons containing VX. Now, thanks to the courageous and patient work of United Nations inspectors, we know that Saddam Hussein — once again — has been lying. Iraqi armed forces loaded VX gas into missile warheads before the 1991 Gulf War, and then sought to conceal the evidence. With the truth revealed, you might think that the international community would redouble its efforts to defang this dangerous dictator. You would be wrong.

UN inspectors discovered the evidence in a weapons destruction pit in Taji, Iraq. Warhead fragments were sent to a U.S. Army lab for analysis. The lab found "significant amounts" of VX residue. At Iraqi insistence, the fragments are being sent for repeat checks in labs outside the United States, but the UN arms inspection chief, Richard Butler, says he has no doubt the results will be replicated.

How did Ambassador Butler's boss respond to the latest revelation of Iraqi perfidy? "We are dealing with the Iraqis on a large spectrum of issues," UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said, "and I hope that particular development will not destroy the improved relations that have allowed the UN inspection commission to carry on with its work." Never mind that Saddam Hussein is cheating and lying and most likely still concealing con-

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Sexual Harassment

With a pair of 7-2 decisions on Friday, the U.S. Supreme Court ended its term on a constructive note by strengthening the law governing sexual harassment in the workplace. The rulings reasonably interpreted Title VII of the Civil Rights Act to hold that an employer can be held liable for sexual misconduct by supervisors, whether or not the employer knew about it. The court also said the employer can be liable whether or not the employee suffered adverse job consequences for refusing a supervisor's unwelcome advances.

The rulings properly recognize that language in the statute defining the term "employer" includes both employers and their "agents." They are also an acknowledgment that sexual harassment causes serious harm even when there is no provable job retaliation or economic loss.

However, the court's balanced approach left room for employers to

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

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Communist Regimes Don't Reform, They Collapse

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — Reform communism, whether in Soviet or Chinese garb, exercises a strange fascination on some American intellectuals, journalists and presidents. Out there on the horizon they see a third way, a nonideological path where the Leninist line lies down with the laissez-faire lamb to order seaweed for lunch.

The defenders of reform communism expect the Leninist gerontocracy in Beijing to stage a lost-our-lease sale soon and peacefully yield to a Chinese-style democracy paid for by increasing trade. Their arguments echo the fervor and conviction of those who once saw Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts to overthrow and save Soviet communism as the only peaceful, viable future for that now ex-empire.

President Bill Clinton's predecessor was a founding father of both cliques. George Bush argued in 1989 that America had to support reformers like Mr. Gorbachev and the Chinese party leader Zhao Ziyang. The only problem with his analysis was that Mr. Gorbachev was soon presiding over the destruction of his own country, and Mr. Zhao was ousted and detained by his

more bloodthirsty colleagues during the Tiananmen Square massacre.

Mr. Clinton and his more trade-centered aides have not thought through the ideological implications of their current nine-day escape from Moncalanland into the Middle Kingdom. Mr. Clinton collects aides who know the price of everything and the value of nothing, as Oscar Wilde would say of this bunch. His trip is likely to demonstrate that he has learned every single fact known to man or woman about China, and none of the truth.

He has much company. In the faculty lounges at Harvard and other prestige universities on the pages of the Washington Post and other quality newspapers, the latest utterances of kindly old Jiang Zemin portraying China as a new humanistic El Dorado are treated with a gee-whiz attention once given to Tito's pronouncements on the coming dominant role of nonalignment in international affairs.

The depth of Mr. Clinton's analysis of the political meaning of his trip is

apparent in his use in Washington this month of the standard State Department phrase specifically designed to avoid calling for democracy in China. America wants "stable, open and prosperous China," he obediently said.

Since he refuses to meet with Chinese dissidents on his trip, perhaps the only other way to measure his true commitment to getting on the right side of history on this issue is to check whether he deviates from the "stable, open and prosperous" code word slogan no doubt agreed to with the Chinese.

I fear that he has been cautioned against saying that America wants to be a "democratic China" in the near future. That would presumably disturb President Jiang's comfort, which seems to be the organizing principle for this trip.

As the dissident Harry Wu has pointed out, Mr. Clinton's use of the code words implicitly expresses a wish for a stable Communist regime that will continue in power. So does the lapdog praise that Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin lavished on China this month as "an island of stability" in economic affairs.

Interesting words those. They repeat almost exactly the formula Jimmy

Carter used to describe the shah of Iran shortly before the shah's ouster. They also echo François Mitterrand's history-blind assessment of the East German regime in its final days as an enduring force for stability.

Mr. Clinton is not so much under the influence of the school of reform communism as he is taken with what could be called the Goldman Sachs view of the world. The merchant banking Weltanschauung of the 1990s has been to pay attention to China and the emerging markets, while hammering Japan and Europe to increase profitability for foreign investors and traders by risking social peace and consensus if necessary.

The fast bucks are always in El Dorado, not in advanced capitalist societies. And there is no ideological adventure or new story angle in acknowledging that communism in all its forms is a political dodo bird.

It's more fun to pretend that the decaying, bloodstained gerontocracy in Beijing can stay stable, reform itself and soon lunch with lambs. Why let history be your guide?

The Washington Post.

From Now On the Leader in East Asia Is China, Not Japan

By Stephen S. Roach

NEW YORK — Bill Clinton's trip to China should put a new vision of Asia into sharp focus — one that all but formally recognizes that the economic and geopolitical leader of the region is no longer Japan but China.

It is a shift that will have a lasting and profound impact on world financial markets.

The shift was made especially clear this month, when Washington decided to try to stop the fall of the yen. But the emergence of China and the descent of Japan have been obvious for some time.

It first became apparent to me in February, when I spent a week shuttling between Beijing and Tokyo. In conversations with senior officials, a critical contrast emerged.

Asian financial crisis or not, China was moving ahead on the greatest economic reform and restructuring of this century. Mindful of the risks of this transition, and willing to discuss them frankly, China's senior leaders were nonetheless committed to a market

economy. In their minds, there was no turning back.

By contrast, Japan seemed frozen in place. All the top economic officials would talk about was the political inertia in their country.

The contrast between Japan and China — inertia vs. dynamism — never seemed more dramatic than when the world watched the yen tumble. The currency began to fall sharply after the revelation this month that Japan's economy, the world's second largest, had sunk by a surprisingly sharp annual rate of 5.3 percent in the first quarter of this year.

Devaluation of the currency seemed to be Japan's only way to stimulate an economy that had lapsed into recession.

The U.S. Treasury secretary, Robert Rubin, initially gave his approval to this "solution." In congressional testimony on June 11, he implied that there was little the authorities could do to arrest the fall of the yen. With the

United States endorsing such a policy of benign neglect, financial markets took matters into their own hands. And a meltdown of the yen suddenly seemed like a real possibility.

This is where China stepped in and said "no." Fearful that a free fall of the yen would spur another round of currency devaluations elsewhere in Asia, putting more pressure on their economy, Chinese officials made it clear that such a chain of events would be unacceptable. Then they played their trump card, warning that they could be forced to devalue their currency.

China was very careful and deliberate in upping the ante, led by two of its most prescient and evenhanded officials — Xiang Huacheng, the finance minister, and Dai Xianglong, the central bank governor. They did not suggest that the official policy of a stable yuan was about to change, but they voiced concerns about the ultimate implications of an open

ended depreciation of the yen.

Threatening to devalue was a high-stakes gamble. China had compelling reasons to hold the line on its currency. A devaluation would have caused currencies elsewhere in Asia to tumble.

The currency contagion would have spilled over to Latin America and Eastern and Central Europe, possibly causing a full-blown global financial crisis.

But by the middle of this month, when the yen was plunging toward 150 against the dollar, China's leaders and global investors had good reason to fear that the country might not be able to hold its currency stable much longer. At that point, the United States and Japan were forced to step in and start buying yen to bolster its value.

In the end, it was that simple: China flexed, world financial markets responded, and global financial officials acted. China's impact as an international economic power has never been greater. Pan-Asian leadership is not a

topic that most Chinese officials are comfortable speaking about. In their view, leadership is a by-product of their actions, not a primary objective.

While it is hard to argue with that philosophical point, there is no mistaking the ramifications of the important changes now under way in China.

And a strong Chinese economy is the key to Asia's overall coming of age.

Japan, which was once the regional powerhouse, can control its own economic destiny, but only if it takes drastic action now. Asia as a whole, however, will depend less on Japan and more on China as a source of economic stability.

That means China must keep the value of its currency stable and remain steadfast in its commitment to economic reforms. My hunch is that it will.

The writer is the chief economist and director of global economics for Morgan Stanley. Dean Witter. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

Civics Lesson for Americans: Go Out and Get Involved

By David S. Broder

Take more personal responsibility for what is happening in their communities, states and nation.

The first report came from the National Commission on Civic Renewal, co-chaired by former Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia, a Democrat, and William J. Bennett, the former secretary of education and an active Republican. Financed by the Pew Charitable Trusts, it is called "A Nation of Spectators."

The second, the latest in a series of National Issues Forum reports, is called "Governing America: Our Choices, Our Challenge." It was prepared by

John Doble Research Associates, under the auspices of the Kettering Foundation.

The starting point for both reports is stated bluntly in "Governing America": "Despite peace and prosperity, people continue to feel alienated and disaffected." They are dissatisfied with government, especially at the national level, and distrustful of the way power is exercised by those who have it.

Both reports are full of commonsense suggestions about ways in which the major institutions of the country could alleviate these complaints. The

press, the churches, the schools, elected officials at all levels have important roles to play.

What is striking is the common theme that it is only by becoming active participants in civic life — "being players, not spectators," as Senator Nunn put it — that a genuine sense of empowerment and trust is likely to be rekindled.

The Nunn-Bennett report says every American should commit to participating in some local or neighborhood group that has a problem-solving agenda. National organizations serve a valuable function and deserve support, it says, but they are not a substitute for religious or civic groups where neighbors come together and act on community needs.

"Citizenship begins with commitment rather than expertise," that report says in a trenchant paragraph. "Citizens do not need special preparation, advanced education or bureaucratic permits to get involved. And once we do, empowerment, optimism and trust are enhanced, the capacity to understand our fellow citizens increases and the public's work gets done in new and unexpected ways."

The report includes enough examples of the thousands of community and religious groups doing exactly that kind of valuable service to make it clear that this is more than a cliché.

Because this form of participation is so vital, both reports strongly endorse the idea that

active citizenship be made a central precept of every youngster's education. "There was broad support to stress the responsibilities as well as the rights of citizenship," the Kettering report says. "Participants especially liked the idea of having high school students do volunteer work at social agencies, but they did not want to make such service mandatory."

The Nunn-Bennett panel split on the issue of requiring such service, but said: "We are impressed with the ways in which well-designed community work carefully linked to classroom reflection can enhance the civic education of students."

Youngsters learn by example, and both reports are divided about the difficulty of jarring millions of adults out of their lethargy and cynicism. Television is a powerful and isolating distraction, absorbing hour after hour of time that could be far better used. The temptation to blame others — the government, the politicians, the interests — is enormous.

The Kettering report suggests that many people find it almost impossible to imagine being part of an engaged, purposeful citizenry. It quotes a Delaware woman as saying: "Idealistically, this choice is wonderful. But it's not practical. How do you convince apathetic people that, if they'll stop being apathetic, they'll be able to help society and help themselves?"

The Washington Post.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1998: Spain Confident

PARIS — The "Evening Post" says: "Military reasons were evidently not the only ones that led the Government to decide to send a squadron to Spanish waters. The moral effect of Spain was as much kept in view as the material effect. The first effect of the news is seen in Madrid dispatches. The bold tone is assumed. 'Let the Yankees come if they dare. That is just what we are longing for. Besides, we shall be present to interfere at last. The Powers will never allow an American fleet to ravage the coast of a European country.'"

1923: 12-Hour Day

PARIS — [An Editorial:] However desirable it may be to abolish the twelve-hour day, no progress can be made toward its abolition with the present shortage of labor if the steel mills are to be kept going. The continuous nature of steel-making bars any compromise between a twelve-hour day and an eight-hour day. There must be two shifts of three. And this third shift at present would necessitate the employment in the steel industry of 60,000 more men. Where are these men to come from?

1948: Tito Attacked

PRAGUE — The Communists attacked Yugoslavia's Communists, including Marshal Tito, as anti-Russian and called for "either a true return to Marx, or a change of Communist leaders in Yugoslavia." It was the first break in the Communist front. Communist leaders of Yugoslavia were disclosed as being nationalists who were trying to discredit Soviet Russia with a propaganda campaign which pictured Russia as having the same imperialistic aims as the "bourgeois states."

Asian
On Au
Growth War
By Michael R
SYDNEY — The
largely immi
Australia is expe
impact of recess
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growth over the
Pacific's thre
Japan. Nearly 70 pe

CAPITAL MARKETS ON MONDAY

Summer of Content: Low Inflation Likely to Buoy Major Bond Markets

Bloomberg News

LONDON—The world's major bond markets are likely to gain in the next three months, as Asia's financial crisis and tame inflation drive long-term yields in the United States and elsewhere below the record lows set in recent weeks.

Asia's shrinking economies, plunging stock markets and slumping currencies are expected to damp economic growth and inflation throughout the world, an ideal scenario for more gains in bonds, investors said.

"The problems in Asia are driving safe-haven demand for bonds, as well as having a global deflationary impact," said Vimal Gor, who helps manage \$3.5 billion of bonds at Scottish Mutual Portfolio Managers in Glasgow. He's "bullish on bonds for the third quarter."

Recession in Japan, Asia's biggest economy, threatens to smother growth

across the region, and attempts to revive the economy have so far proved ineffective.

That has sent Asian investors, especially Japan's prodigious savers, fleeing to U.S. Treasuries and European financial assets in search of better returns and protection against further currency depreciation.

"Bonds are still the place to be," said Gerd Ramsperger, head of brokerage research at Zuercher Kantonal Bank in Zurich.

The attraction of U.S. assets has been apparent for some time: strong growth with minimal inflation. Now that potent combination is gaining ground in Europe, too.

Already, investors who reckoned that the advent of the new European single currency, the euro, would force governments to adopt tighter fiscal and monetary policies have been rewarded for

their faith.

European bonds were the world's best performers in the second quarter as the average inflation rate in the 11 countries expected to join the euro sank to its lowest ever, at 1.4 percent. That is good for bonds because inflation erodes the value of their fixed interest and principal payments.

Now there are clear signs the second half of the equation — accelerating growth — is taking hold, too.

Ten of the top 11 bond markets in the past three months, in dollar terms, are countries that will establish Europe's common currency in January. The only euro founder not present, Luxembourg, does not have a government bond market.

Among the top performers, Italian, Danish, German, Dutch, Belgian, French, Irish, Spanish, Finnish and Austrian bonds maturing in more than a year

all posted a total return, including interest reinvestment, of 4.4 percent or more.

While most of the profits from the convergence in interest rates among the participants in the monetary union may have already been made, analysts say there is room for more gains. With Germany's benchmark repurchase rate at 3.3 percent, and rates in Spain, Italy, Ireland and elsewhere higher, many analysts expect more cuts to bring short-term rates into line before the end of the year.

In the United States, the 30-year benchmark bond yield fell to 5.57 percent on June 15, its lowest level since regular sales of the securities began in 1977. The yield on the long bond ended last week at 5.64 percent, down 0.8 percentage point for the week.

The U.S. bond market, the world's biggest, handed investors a return of about 2.25 percent in the quarter. Many investors are optimistic about further

gains given the outlook for slower growth and subdued inflation — not to mention the first U.S. budget surplus in almost 30 years.

The situation elsewhere wasn't so cheery for all investors. Bond markets in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Japan all suffered losses to U.S. dollar-based investors as their currencies weakened against the U.S. currency during the quarter. Yet in local currency terms, all posted gains amid expectations Asia's economic slowdown will crimp demand for exports to the region, cooling growth and stifling inflation.

■ U.S. and Japanese Reports Due

Economic reports due this week from the United States and Japan are likely to accelerate the move toward U.S. bonds, Market News reported.

The results of Japan's closely watched business sentiment survey, the

tanak, are due Monday or Tuesday, which may set the tone for the week, traders said.

"There isn't any reason for the tanak to come in particularly strong," said Alan DeRose, a trader with CIBC Oppenheimer.

On Tuesday and Wednesday the Open Market Committee of the Federal Reserve Board will meet to set interest-rate policy. The outcome for the committee, "is pretty much a foregone conclusion," Mr. DeRose said, as the market was not expecting a tightening.

The employment report due Thursday for June may also generate some selling pressure for the short term, but was likely to be outweighed over the longer term by safe-haven plays, Mr. DeRose said. He added that the employment figures would be "difficult to read" due to the ongoing United Auto Workers strike against General Motors Corp.

Most Active International Bonds

The 250 most active international bonds traded through the Euroclear system for the week ending June 26. Prices supplied by Telekurs.

Risk Name	Cur	Maturity	Price	Ctr Ytd
236 Australia	6%	11/5/06	108.1630	6.2400
237 Austria	5	01/5/08	101.1000	4.9500
238 Belgian	zero	09/7/99	99.1700	3.8000
239 British Pound	7.951	02/22/23	95.0160	8.3700
240 British Pound	zero	01/12/21	97.4100	7.1400
241 British Pound	6	04/07/02	102.4000	5.8600
242 British Pound	6	04/07/02	102.4000	5.8600
243 British Pound	6	04/07/02	114.3600	7.8000
244 British Pound	6	04/07/02	114.3600	5.5600
245 British Pound	6	10/01/29	97.5000	4.1500
246 British Pound	6	11/15/02	105.5500	8.2800
247 British Pound	6	12/10/02	105.5500	8.2800
248 British Pound	6	12/10/02	112.0000	8.2900
249 British Pound	7.00	11/20/02	112.0000	8.2900
250 British Pound	7	11/15/02	112.0000	8.2900
251 British Pound	7	11/20/02	111.5000	7.8000
252 British Pound	7	11/20/02	111.5000	7.8000
253 British Pound	7	11/20/02	111.5000	7.8000
254 British Pound	7	11/20/02	111.5000	7.8000
255 British Pound	7	11/20/02	111.5000	7.8000
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The successful candidates will have extensive professional working experience in commercial litigation or arbitration, preferably gained in a reputable international law firm. Experience in working with accountants, loss adjusters, or other litigation support experts will be an asset.

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Given the expected high number of applications, only the shortlisted candidates will be contacted.

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Candidates should send a detailed Curriculum Vitae to:

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UNITED NATIONS

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Applications with full CV should be sent by 31 July 1998 to: Executive Secretary, ICSC, DC2-1060, 2 U.N. Plaza, NY 10017.

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which is one of the world's complicated pieces of military equipment. Mr. Segal said the Chinese were trying for 30 years to produce a launched missile of such clear evidence of success.

He added that Russia's participation in the project could be limited to nonnuclear areas such as hull design and integration with the propulsion plant. "But I don't know," he said, "whether that's the case or not."

and I don't know how you
can plan" quite confident that the Russ
not be supplying the nuclear
instance, too. Mr. Segal
has shown a willing
and a desire to do

Despite the United States' willingness to negotiate on these issues, Russia has imposed economic sanctions on India over their nuclear blasts.

BRIEFLY Patten E

Patten Express
Faith in Hong Kong

HONG KONG — Days ago marked the first year of Chinese rule, the last colony of the British Empire, said Sunday's *South China Morning Post*. The remained a free society, Hong Kong is a free society, free of law," Mr. Page said. "A year and it will be a year, breaking in a state-owned, public and private, and his emotions, he added 150 years, and the ten- tative, rather than

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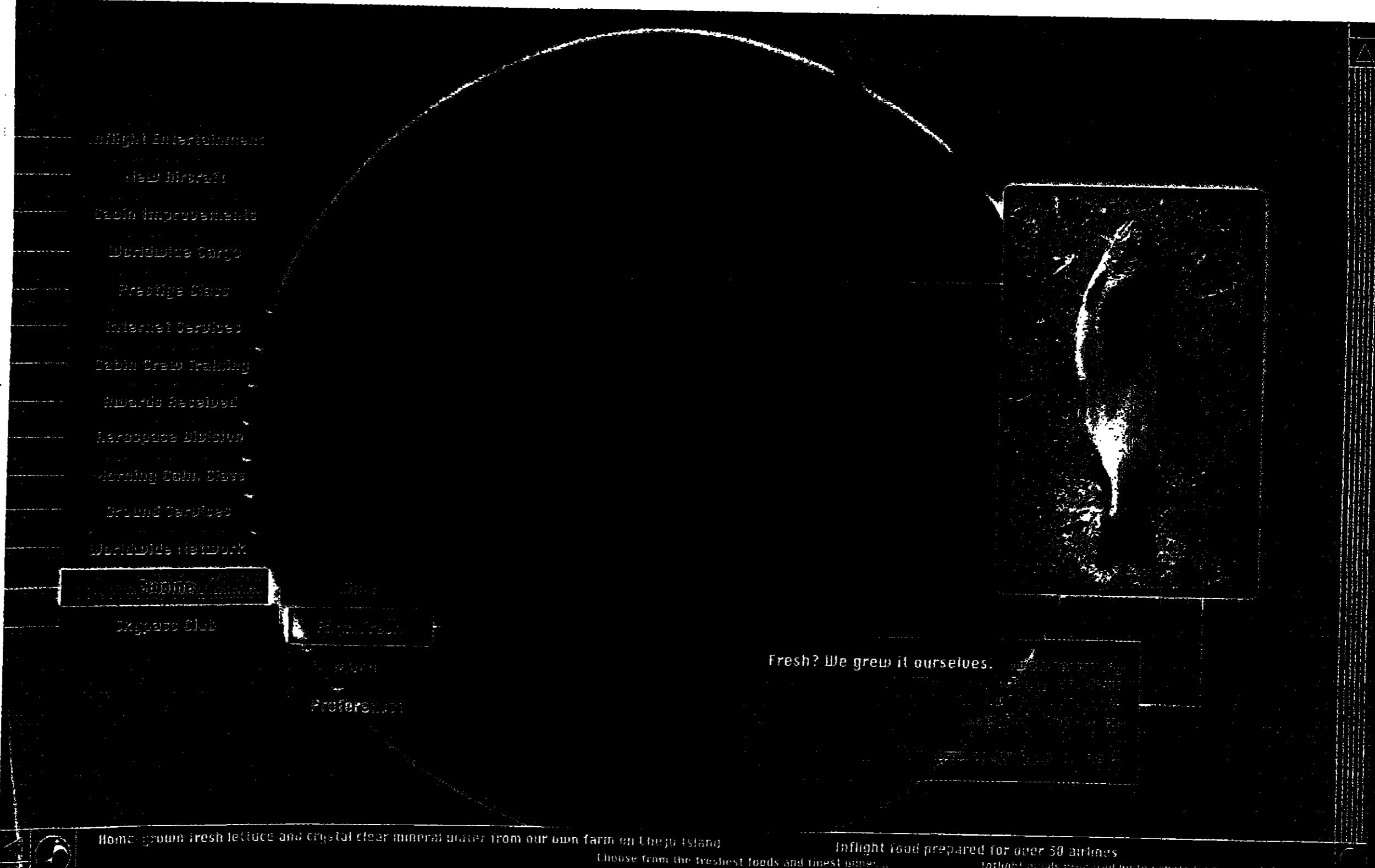
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Consolidated prices for all shares traded during week ended Friday, June 26

(Continued)

Continued on Page 18



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INTERNATIONAL
WORLD CUP

MONDAY, JUNE 29, 1998

Chile Shows Spirit; Brazil Shows Genius**4-1 Victory for Inspired World Champion**By Rob Hughes
*International Herald Tribune***PARIS** — In the space of a weekend, we have seen what spirit means to the World Cup of soccer.

At Parc des Princes on Saturday, the sport began with a rainbow arched over the stadium, and Brazil beat Chile, 4-1, in a contest where Chile, the underdog,

VANTAGE POINT

had the courage — some insist the naïveté — to attempt to play the game in the spirit to which it was born. Chile lost heavily but still contributed to a Latin American passion play that lifted Brazil, and lifted the souls of 60,000 in the stadium.

Less than a day later, up in the industrial north, the cockered of France was almost throttled by the minnow from Paraguay. The match was in Lens, a small town so proud of its own soccer club, which a couple of months ago showed that the small can go forward in victory.

It took a goal deep into extra time from a defenseman, Laurent Blanc, to break the resistance of a small country that many people believe has the right to stay in the tournament through any means it can. I am not sympathetic to that sentiment: Soccer is a game, not a business or a war. Teams are here both to compete and to entertain, and to organize frustration for two hours, to stifle and destroy the flow of a game is not in the spirit of sport.

Am I, then, impossibly naïve? Probably, for like Chile's team, I believe it is better to try to appeal to the people through attacking flair than to steal something from them by eliminating flair from the game.

WORLD CUP BRIEFS**Fewer Goals So Far****PARIS** — Scoring in the first round of the World Cup was down slightly in the first round of the World Cup from four years ago.

FIFA, soccer's world governing body, said the first 48 games produced 126 goals — an average of 2.63 a match. In 1994, the first round — with 36 games — had a 2.71-goals-per-game average.

There were 176 yellow cards for, an average of 3.7 a game, down from 4.2 in the '94 Cup. But red cards were up, with 16 for a 0.3 average, from 8 and an average of 0.22 in 1994.

Sepp Blatter, president of FIFA, said the games in France still were full of action. "They present a great spectacle," he said. (AP)

Chile's Coach on Way Out

Nelson Acosta, Chile's coach, said Saturday, shortly after his team had been put out of the World Cup by Brazil, that he would leave the job at the end of the year.

Acosta, who led Chile to the World Cup finals for the first time in 16 years, has criticized the organization of soccer in Chile, saying that it did not allow the development of a truly competitive national team. (AP)

Sir Alf Ramsey in Clinic

Sir Alf Ramsey, who managed the England team that won the 1966 World Cup, has been admitted to a hospital in Ipswich and is resting comfortably, a hospital spokeswoman said Sunday. The spokeswoman did not comment on a report that Sir Alf had suffered a stroke.

Sir Alf, 78, played 31 times for England before going on to manage the national team from 1963 to 1974. Like the current England manager Glenn Hoddle, Sir Alf played for the London club Tottenham Hotspur. (Reuters)

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Brazil tried to surprise Brazil with skilled, attacking play. It stimulated the world champion in an hour of beauty that could, if others dare to follow, give a new dimension to this World Cup.

The moment the anthems played in the Parc des Princes, you could see, hear, and feel the Chileans' passion. Rarely has any player shown such a fervor to his national song as Ivan Zamorano. He played his heart out, and at the finish, his embrace — long and generous — around Ronaldo, his young Inter Milan teammate, was that of a man who may be leaving his last World Cup to a youngster whose future is before him. There was respect in that gesture, and respect throughout the game for the way soccer should be performed.

In the stands, bathed almost entirely in Brazilian yellow, a small core of red-shirted Chileans ceaselessly urged on their team. The drum beating without pause and without despair was also Chilean. The hands that beat out an unyielding rhythm belonged to a Chilean youth who, bare-chested and blind to despair, kept up an intoxicating rapport with the play.

He and his compatriots had 11 minutes of hope. Their players moved the ball with swiftness, invention, and audacity. They wanted to take on the mighty Brazil at Brazil's own game. But two goals, from two free kicks, betrayed Chile. They couldn't defend as they intended to attack; their concentration was wayward and Cesar Sampaio, a defensive midfielder, twice punished them.

His first goal was a characteristic header, guided home with power and opportunism. We have seen him score that way against Scotland in the opening match at Stade de France, a defender lurking with intent and punishing the opposing defense whose guard is dis-

tracted by the presence of Ronaldo, Bebe, Rivaldo et al.

Sampaio showed what it meant. He slumped to the ground on his knees, his arms raised exultantly, his eyes awash with tears. And he did it all again when, after a second free kick, he expertly side-footed the second goal. By halftime Ronaldo had scored a penalty, and Brazil was ready to turn on samba style.

Beaten for pace, for skill and above all for power, the Chileans could have tried to spare themselves further exposure. They had the perfect excuse, that three midfield players were banned through suspension against the world's best team. But Zamorano and Salas



Inter Milan teammates, Ivan Zamorano and Ronaldo, walking off the field after the Brazil-Chile match in Paris. (AP)

wanted at least to leave an imprint, and when Brazil became a mile overadventurous, complacent perhaps, Zamorano sped forward, compromised the goalkeeper, Taffarel, with his deft header, and Salas scored with another example of his rapacious and quick finishing.

For maybe 90 seconds, the drum beat louder. Then, stung by Chile's daring, Brazil put them in their place. Denilson burst forward, waited, released the ball, and Ronaldo was merciless in using his right foot to finish the job.

Denilson is Brazil's substitute. He would start on any other team on earth. Tall and lean and coltish, he changes the complexion of any match, because he is thrilled by his own creative capacity and has not been told, or has not listened, to any words of caution. Brazil's coach, Mario Zagallo, has good reason to use such a talent sparingly because the balance of the team allows Roberto Carlos, also left-sided, to attack as no defender before him has had license to do.

Against Chile, it became a beautiful game. Against others, Argentina for sure, the Netherlands maybe, the coach will rein in the adventure. But we had an hour of the real game Saturday, followed by two hours of depression Sunday. If it is naive to praise one and lament the other, since when was naïveté a sin?

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Policeman's Mirth Stirs a Tinge of Panic at Lens**Vantage Point/ PETER BERLIN**

blame-making attitudes.

It would be difficult enough trying to sort out a few hundred hard-core hooligans in that mass, but with the English it is compounded by the mentality of a high proportion of the "ordinary" fans. They view soccer matches and trips abroad as times to get drunk. And on Friday, abroad for a soccer match, many were staggering through the streets of Lens before the match in spite of the alcohol ban. They also regard all foreigners as untrustworthy and uncivilized.

Over the last 10 days, the French authorities have had an unpleasant crash course in soccer hooliganism. The police and the CRS, to find that these things regard them, the guardians of the Fifth Republic, as the barbarians.

Many of these fans just don't seem to get it. The problem is, judging from one small but frightening incident Friday, some of the French police are also missing an important point.

Soccer crowds are dangerous not just because they harbor hooligans, but because they are huge, tidal masses of people crowded into small places. They are a menace to themselves, and the police have a duty to protect them from themselves.

That is the lesson the English learned in the worst possible way 10 years ago.

Before the World Cup, Sepp Blatter, now the president of FIFA, the governing body of world soccer, urged the

French to take down fences at grounds because, he said, fans are animals.

Now that English and German fans have behaved like animals, the fences, and the attitudes that go with them, are set in place. That is how it was in England for four years after the Heysel Stadium disaster in 1985. Then 39 fans, mostly Italians, died, or were crushed or trampled to death as they attempted to flee English hooligans at a match between Liverpool, an English club, and Juventus of Turin.

After that, the fences went up in England. The emphasis was on penning in the dangerous animals who went to soccer games. In 1989, at Hillsborough in Sheffield, 95 fans, ironically from Liverpool, were crushed to death against those fences, by a sudden surge of the crowd behind them. Within days, the fences had started to come down again and police attitudes had begun to change.

Nick Hornby wrote in "Fever Pitch," his book about being a soccer fan, that seeing the film and photographs of Hillsborough, he suddenly realized how often at soccer games he had been in danger, crammed into a space with no escape, one slip away from disaster, trusting that the police knew what they were doing when, as Hillsborough showed, they did not. The thought clung true with every English

soccer fan.

In Lens on Friday, I found myself, very briefly, but very frighteningly in such a situation once again. It only lasted a few seconds, but as Hillsborough showed it only takes a few seconds for things to go disastrously wrong.

At the Lens station after the match, the police had decided, for some reason, to stop many of the fans entering by the main station entrance and directed us to a small side gate, flanked by a building and a fence. Behind the fence was a mass of policemen and behind them were our trains.

The logical thing would have been to get the fans on the trains as quickly as possible; instead, presumably to make a point, the police allowed the fans through the gate only in one or two. A large and surly crowd gathered, pressing forward toward the gate.

Normally, this is a situation I would avoid, but it was nearly midnight and my train to Paris left in a few minutes, so I plunged in. I was working my way along the fence toward the gate when there was a sudden press. I found myself pressed hard against the fence. I shouted at a policeman on the other side of the fence. He laughed back. A current in the crowd carried me forward and I was popped through the gate.

Furious, I jumped up and told the smirking policeman that he and his colleagues were creating a situation where people could get killed. He replied that "only hooligans kill people."

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WORLD ROUNDUP



Sam Torrance, who won the French Open title on Sunday.

Torrance Triumphs

GOLF Sam Torrance birdied the final two holes Sunday to capture the \$800,000 French Open at Guyancourt for his first victory in three years.

Torrance shed a tear as he hoisted the trophy. "It was the emotion of winning again after three years," he said.

His \$133,000 victory check was his first since his British Masters' triumph three years ago. He is 14th on the European money list.

Five men shared the lead before Torrance hit a 7-wood within a foot of the cup on the 17th. Torrance, a 44-year-old Scot, hit a 2-under-par 70 for a total of 12-under 276.

Four golfers finished with a total of 278, after Massimo Florio of Italy and Olivier Edmond of France shot 67 in the final round; Bernhard Langer of Germany had 69, and Mathew Goggin of Australia shot 70.

(AP)

NHL Makes Draft Picks

ICE HOCKEY Tampa Bay took Vincent Lecavalier, a 6-foot-4 center from Quebec, first overall in the National Hockey League draft Saturday in Buffalo. The Nashville Predators, an expansion team, then traded positions with the San Jose Sharks to pick David Legwand, a center from Ontario, second.

The Philadelphia Flyers traded defenseman Paul Coffey, a perennial All-Star, to the Chicago Blackhawks on Saturday for a fifth-round choice in the draft. Coffey immediately agreed to a two-year contract with the Blackhawks. (AP)

British Men Keep Title

ATHLETICS Britain won the final event to retain their European men's team title Sunday in Saint Petersburg. The British took the title by 2½ points over Germany to qualify for the athletics' World Cup in September in Johannesburg.

In the women's competition, Russia easily defended its title, ending with a total of 124 points, 16 points ahead of the Germans. (AP)

It Was Schumacher's Race From the Start

The Associated Press

MAGNY COURS, France — Michael Schumacher was in first place from start to finish Sunday in the French Grand Prix as he lead Ferrari's first 1-2 finish in nearly eight years.

He closed within six points of Mika Hakkinen in the drivers' standings with half the Formula One season left.

The race was started twice. Hakkinen led

FRENCH GRAND PRIX

after the first start, but the race was halted to clear a stalled car off the starting grid.

On the second start, Schumacher was the first away and he never lost the lead.

Schumacher's Ferrari teammate, Eddie Irvine, acting as a buffer between Schumacher and Hakkinen for most of the race, came in second, 19.5 seconds behind.

Hakkinen, in a McLaren-Mercedes, was third, just behind Irvine after trying to pass him for the last 15 laps of the race.

It was the first 1-2 finish for Ferrari since the Spanish Grand Prix in 1990, when Alain Prost and Nigel Mansell took the top two slots in the cars.

Jacques Villeneuve, the Formula One champion last year, was fourth in a Williams-Mecachrome

car. Villeneuve beat Schumacher for the title in the last race of the 1997 season after a dramatic collision forced Schumacher out of the race.

Alexander Wurz of Austria was fifth, driving a Benetton-Playlife, followed by David Coulthard, who was plagued by problems fueling in the pits.

Schumacher completed the 71 laps of the 2.25-kilometer (1.4-mile) Magny Cours circuit in 1 hour, 34 minutes, 45.026 seconds. He averaged 190.963 kilometers per hour (118.564 miles per hour) for the 301.75 kilometers.

It was Schumacher's 30th career victory and third this season. He also has won the French Grand Prix four of the last five races.

The race was started twice. The first time, Jos Verstappen — who had replaced Jan Magnussen in the Stewart-Ford team this week — stalled just before the start as the rest of the field roared away. Hakkinen had the lead but the race was stopped.

On the restart, Schumacher and Irvine pulled ahead of Hakkinen on the first turn.

"I thought I had a good start and then when I saw Eddie in second, I thought, 'That's the scenario I'd like to have,'" Schumacher said.

Schumacher pulled away from Irvine, who forced the McLaren to lap about a second slower than Schumacher in the early stages.

Schumacher's lead was up to 11 seconds by the

end of 10 laps and evened to about 13 seconds after 15.

Meanwhile, Hakkinen continued to pressure Irvine and took his chance with an inside move on a curve on the 20th lap. He had passed Irvine but could not hold the line and spun out. He got back on track quickly but lost more than four seconds.

On the Magny-Cours track, Hakkinen said, "if you're stuck behind somebody, it's a nightmare."

"He was slow on entering the corners and gave me opportunity to overtake him," said Hakkinen. "I tried once, the corner was too tight to take it at that speed."

But, said Hakkinen, Irvine usually was not slow enough to overtake him safely.

"I think you have to be fair out there," Hakkinen said. "You cannot just bang into somebody and then crash."

He made a pit stop soon after to change tires and get fuel but Schumacher followed, now with a comfortable margin over Hakkinen.

After the first pit stops were sorted out by the 26th lap, Schumacher had an 18-second lead over Irvine and, more important, a 22-second advantage over Hakkinen, who had regained third from his teammate Coulthard.

By his second pit stop on the 45th lap, Schu-



Michael Schumacher winning Sunday's race.

merch led by 24 seconds over Irvine and 33 over Hakkinen. Hakkinen held off pitting until 54 laps but wound up behind Irvine again.

Hakkinen was desperate to pass Irvine this time. He kept looking for an opening, but Irvine kept closing the door.

On the final curve, it became a drag race down the straightaway with Irvine holding off Hakkinen.



Laurent Blanc scoring the winning goal Sunday for France against Paraguay's goalkeeper, Jose Luis Chilavert.

France. He is a reserved man who chooses extroverted friends, such as Eric Cantona, the enigmatic, charismatic French star who never got the chance to play in a World Cup because of France's spectacular failure in 1993, when Emil Kostadinov scored a late goal for Bulgaria in the final qualifying game.

That night, the last defender to have a shot at stopping Kostadinov, and saving France, was Blanc. He announced his retirement from the national team after that experience, but Jacquet convinced him that he was still indispensable to France's central defense, and after Sun-

day's goal, Blanc can now say that he has repaid his debt to French society.

He is one of the few members of the team who plays in France year-round, having joined Marseille last season after a year with Barcelona. The two other players who took part in the game-winning sequence also play in the French first division: Pires at Metz and Trezeguet in Monaco. They are relatively new to the French national team, but Blanc has been around long enough to know how much it took for France to get back to the World Cup quarterfinals. Sunday's match was his 72d for France, which equals the total

of Michel Platini, who was watching next to Prime Minister Lionel Jospin of France in the stands in Lens.

Both Platini and the prime minister leaped to their feet after Blanc's dramatic goal, and before long, Chilavert rejoined his feet, too. One by one, he approached his fallen teammates and lifted the smaller men off the ground. The medallion bearing the likeness of the Madonna of Lourdes that Chilavert places inside his goal had not brought him good luck this time.

But then, isn't Lourdes part of France?



(kick off your shoes)

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